REVIEWS

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Prior studies have documented how deindustrialization poses a bleak outlook for both individuals and their communities: longterm unemployment, elevated poverty, and the erosion of once vital areas. What can people do to mitigate the effects of declining industries that once employed several generations of workers? More importantly, how can collective action help transform society into realizing diverse interests, rather than just a few, narrowly defined interests? Jeremy Brecher's *Banded Together: Economic Democratization in the Brass Valley* shares a much-needed account of how such efforts unfold in Western Connecticut's Naugatuck Valley, a community known for its brass manufacturing since the 1800s.

An historian by training, documentary-maker, and resident of Naugatuck Valley for three decades, Brecher conducted over 100 interviews with leaders, staff, and locals for this book. He also conducted archival research and attended over 100 meetings as a participant-observer. The interviews provide the bulk of the data for his case studies of collective action regarding job preservation, job creation, and the construction of affordable housing via more democratic forms of organization.

The challenges confronting Naugatuck Valley are depressingly familiar even to the most vibrant of communities and cities: multinational companies take over locally-owned factories and treat these as commodities, rather than as sources of livelihoods and identities, job prospects shift to the poorly-compensated service sector, and longtime renters face rising housing costs as developers deplete the affordable housing stock by converting rental units into condominiums. On the other hand, an influx of new residents poses another challenge that could potentially reinvigorate the community: how to integrate newcomers and incorporate their interests. Rather than relying upon the state or the market to address these issues, Naugatuck Valley residents organized to pursue mutual interests via collectivities run by the community, employees, or residents. Brecher posits that three conditions are necessary for such "local action" and "democratic economic vision"—"grassroots organization, democratically controlled enterprises, and supportive public policies" (p. xxi).

Brecher first recounts how existing organizations, with the help of Ken Gladstone, a community organizer trained in Alinskyite organizing, formed the Naugatuck Valley Project (NVP) in the 1980s. Rather than focusing on one particular project, this "community alliance" has promoted grassroots organizing to revitalize their area. The NVP both formed new ties and built upon existing network ties in the workplace and small businesses, unions, churches and other organizations; this collective identified existing problems and possible solutions. Brecher describes how Gladstone deploys Alinskyite techniques for the unfamiliar ends of economic development—in this community, creating jobs or housing through corporations owned and run by residents. The Alinskyite techniques involve listening to locals to identify issues, selecting possible leaders, and then organizing collectivities to address these issues. These techniques use the power of organized groups—in these cases, residents, and workers—who otherwise have difficulties as individuals eliciting accountability to their interests from the state or their workplaces. The resulting redefined relations help democratize a political process that previously only catered to elite interests.

To support his claims, Brecher delves into several case studies to illuminate the challenges, setbacks, and rewards of self-organizing. The first case illustrates how employees need support in honing their self-managing skills, but also shares individuals'

empowering realizations that through collective action, they can create a new reality. In another case, employees successfully buy their company and become an employee-owned corporation, Seymour Specialty Wire. Seven years later, market forces and the difficulties of breaking with the prior organizational form both contribute to closing the company, but not without the successful retirement of workers with pension plans. The third case, the creation of the ValleyCare Cooperative, a home-care agency, shows how an organization can be responsive to employees' needs, such as limited transportation options and scheduling, and also underserved clients' needs. However, state and federal policy changes in how such services are reimbursed undercut ValleyCare Cooperative's ability to operate. Absorbed by a larger organization, this once innovative collective becomes an undesirable place to work; state regulations promote older, larger and less responsive organizations over younger, smaller, community-based organizations. The final case reveals how low- and moderate-income residents creatively use a land trust to establish racially diverse cooperative housing that is protected from speculation. A table in the introductory chapter summarizing 25 successful programs and organizations under NVP alludes to the generative nature of democratic organizing; however, Brecher does not describe why he delves into particular cases over others.

Nonetheless, this research is especially timely given the recent resurgence of interest in social movements and democratic forms of organizing. The book should appeal to readers across several subdisciplines, especially as these subdisciplines converge upon common ground. With a few exceptions, organizational sociology has lacked in-depth studies of contemporary democratic organizations since the heyday of such studies during the 1960s–1970s. Moreover, the cogent critique of managerial hierarchy will remind readers of drawbacks glossed over in much organizational research. In addition, the difficulties of sustaining these organizational forms highlight the role of the state in fostering conditions that support or undercut particular organizational forms. Social movements and labor movement researchers will be interested in how to build

upon the networks and efforts of unions and other groups to form generative and flexible organizations that support collective action. For community and urban sociology researchers, this account shows that collective action, even if unsuccessful, readies residents to undertake the next challenge. The impact of such organizing efforts might not be immediately apparent but rather cumulative, as the NVP demonstrates.

Moving to Opportunity: The Story of an American Experiment to Fight Ghetto Poverty, by **Xavier de Souza Briggs, Susan J. Popkin,** and **John Goering.** New York,NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 305pp. $19.95 paper. ISBN: 9780195392845.

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Moving to Opportunity (MTO) is one of the most ambitious and controversial social experiments ever fielded in the United States. The program was implemented to test whether giving poor families the opportunity to leave distressed public housing for low-poverty neighborhoods would improve their well-being and life prospects. In the 1990s, about 5,000 public housing residents in five large U.S. cities enrolled in the experiment. They were randomly assigned to the ''experimental'' condition—mobility counseling and housing vouchers to move to neighborhoods with low poverty rates; the ''comparison'' condition—housing vouchers that could be used in any neighborhood; or the ''control'' condition—no voucher but continued eligibility for public housing. Interim results showed that families in the experimental group lived in somewhat less poor neighborhoods and experienced improved mental health and less risky behavior among adolescent girls, but saw few improvements in educational or employment outcomes relative to the control group.

The MTO experiment has generated heated debates among academics, policymakers, and the American public about the appropriate role of government in fighting ghetto poverty and the most effective and equitable ways to improve life for the most

disadvantaged. The authors of *Moving to Opportunity: The Story of an American Experiment to Fight Ghetto Poverty* provide a window into the background and inner workings of this experiment and shed light on the mechanisms behind the experimental findings. Xavier de Souza Briggs, Susan J. Popkin, and John Goering are uniquely suited for this task. They have served as planners, evaluators, and advisors to the experiment since its inception. They also collected qualitative data on families in three of the MTO cities—in-depth interviews with 122 families and longitudinal ethnographic observation of 39 families—that they use to interpret the experimental results.

The book begins with detailed background chapters covering the evolution of the nation's efforts to define and fight ghetto poverty, the policy debates and implementation challenges behind the experiment, and the sources of inequality in metropolitan areas and housing markets. After this, the authors tell the qualitative story behind the experimental results for mental health, risky behavior, social ties, housing, employment, and education. The authors identify the "myth of the average experience," describing heterogeneity in participants' experiences that are masked by the average effects reported in the experimental results. They conclude that the experiment may not have lifted many families out of poverty, but it helped many to lead a better quality of life.

Policymakers hoped MTO would generate higher employment and earnings through moves to neighborhoods which had more jobs and better job networks, but the lack of employment effects hardly seem surprising after the authors show that many relocatees did not move to areas with more entry-level jobs. In fact, they faced additional barriers to work after their moves, including reduced access to transportation and adequate child care.

In contrast, the authors attribute the mental health improvements to a newfound "freedom from fear" among movers. Adolescent girls benefitted from moves because they were no longer exposed to the predatory behavior of young men in their old neighborhoods. In contrast, boys who moved remained embedded within the same neighborhood networks and saw little behavioral improvement. Few families developed new or beneficial social ties after moving; instead, they remained in social networks of needy relatives, although some used their moves to distance themselves from these relatives.

Many families struggled to stay out of high poverty neighborhoods after making their initial moves, but the authors' qualitative data clearly show why: for poor families who have lived "segregated lives in dangerous, high poverty neighborhoods, conventional [housing] choice programs offer little room to maneuver, thanks to the choosers' information poverty, the limited comparisons they are equipped to make, and a logic of choice focused simply on avoiding violence and other risks—not necessarily on garnering 'opportunity'" (p. 19). Families' housing searches were further hampered by the dearth of affordable, suitable housing that accepted vouchers in tight, high-cost housing markets.

The authors discuss the assumptions policymakers and academic advisors held when designing and implementing the experiment, which was characterized by "unexpected setbacks, unwelcome trade-offs, and more than a few gaps in planners' knowledge" (p. 16). They assumed that a poverty-based move criterion would identify neighborhoods with positive long-term trajectories, greater racial mix, plentiful voucher-accepting rental units, job availability, and high-quality schools. This assumption did not always pan out. The designers also underestimated the enormous barriers some families faced in moving and accessing opportunities in a "move only" experiment that offered no additional services. Implementation was further challenged by variation in the local capacity to execute the program and by opposition in receiving neighborhoods.

This book, like the MTO experiment itself, is decidedly individualistic in focus. It studies individuals within families, but does not examine the effect of the experiment on communities or identify possible externalities experienced by residents in sending or receiving neighborhoods. We are therefore left wondering what happened to the public housing communities targeted by the experiment and the new neighborhoods to which residents moved. Public housing families

experienced dramatic transformations to their surroundings, including welfare reform and the demolition of public housing through HOPE VI, that were exacerbated by MTO. As Dr. Mindy Fullilove and others have argued, policies that move poor, minority residents can destroy entire communities, and African Americans in particular have been victims of the repeated stripping of their communities in the name of lofty policy goals.

The casual reader may find this book a bit dense, but it offers an excellent exemplar for scholars and students interested in integrating quantitative and qualitative data in experimental designs. It will also be of interest to urban scholars, as the authors frame the results of the experiment within the broader forces driving urban inequality. Even scholars who are already familiar with MTO will learn new information about the implementation of the experiment and site-specific differences in effects. Finally, all readers will be captured by the families' narrative accounts of their how their lives have changed as a result of this "great American experiment."

Queer Methods and Methodologies: Intersecting Queer Theories and Social Science Research, edited by **Kath Browne** and **Catherine J. Nash.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. 301pp. $119.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754678434.

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Are there queer methods and methodologies? The fourteen chapters in this book attempt to answer this question by drawing on research from a diversity of case studies and research approaches. The interdisciplinary collection includes chapters by anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, and communications scholars from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Australia. The editors begin with a discussion of the postmodern challenge to "queer" research, namely, "If, as queer thinking argues, subjects and subjectivities are fluid, unstable and perpetually becoming, how can we gather 'data' from those tenuous and fleeting subjects using the standard methods of data collection such as interviews or questionnaires? What meanings can we draw from, and what use can we make of, such data when it is only momentarily fixed and certain?" (p. 1).

It is a challenge to review edited books and this one proved to be particularly difficult given the diversity of approaches represented in the collection. In fact, the editors admit to their own difficulty in organizing the book. They found it impossible to offer an overview of "common themes, approaches and ideas" which they felt would be "a rather forced and artificial affair highlighted by the constructed 'finding' of arbitrary coherences and illogical 'logical' connections" (p. 3). However, after considering a number of alternative ways of framing the book, they decided to emphasize key concepts in the connection between "queer approaches and research design" (p. 16) in the first part. The second part includes illustrations of different research approaches. The final section consists of chapters that offer a "rethinking of queer theorizing and social science methods and methodologies" (p. 16). However, key concepts are found throughout the collection since authors emphasize other concepts or generate new concepts that are not anticipated in the opening chapter. In addition, different research approaches are highlighted in chapters that span the three sections. In fact, I had a difficult time determining where one section ended and another began since there are no indications given to separate one part from another.

As with early efforts by feminist scholars to articulate what counts as feminist methods and methodologies, queer scholars in the social sciences are grappling with the implications of what the editors term "queer thinking" for research relationships, methodological strategies, and ethics. The editors define "queer research" as "any form of research positioned within conceptual frameworks that highlight the instability of taken-for-granted meanings and resulting power relations" (p. 4). Not surprisingly, many of the authors use queer research to contest approaches to identities and subjectivities that align with the heterosexual/homosexual binary. For example, in Chapter

Two, Jamie Heckert troubles the taken-for-granted understanding of sexual orientation "as a natural truth" (p. 45) and discusses the use of "interview partners" who are in "mixed sexual orientation identity relationships" to uncover the complexity of people's sexual experiences (p. 44). However, in his analysis of the "surfing binarism" of real life/virtual life in Second Life, author Tom Boellstorff demonstrates that queer research can be productive for research that does not necessarily address sexuality as a central concern.

One of the issues that sexualities scholars highlight in their work and that, they argue, is missing from other approaches to research, regardless of the research topic, is attention to sexual desire and erotic experiences in the field. One answer to the question posed at the beginning is that queer methods and methodologies make visible the role of sexual desire and erotic subjectivity in the research account. This issue is front and center in a number of chapters in the book. For example, in her chapter on emotions and performativity in ethnography, Alison Rooke argues that while researchers observe and chronicle others' sexual lives, they rarely, if ever, include "their own erotic subjectivity" (p. 33). The topic of desire and erotic subjectivity is also linked to the subject of "queer ethics" that is taken up in several chapters in the collection, most notably in Mathias Detamore's discussion of "a politics of intimacy in researcher/researched relations" (p. 167). Detamore includes an insightful analysis of ethics as "inherently methodological" and considers how researchers can negotiate their own "emotional lives with the entanglements and attachments of a living research project" (p. 169). Another consistent theme that further links discussions of desire in the field with queer ethics is the chapter by Stacy Holman Jones and Tony E. Adams who focus on authoethnography as a queer method. They draw on Garfinkel's ethnomethodological approach for their discussion of "a queer, identity-as-achievement logic" that informs their analysis.

Queer Methods and Methodologies also draws on a number of feminist epistemological innovations, including reflexivity and intersectionality. The versatility of queer intersectional approaches is especially evident in a number of chapters. Yvette Taylor foregrounds the intersection of class, gender, and sexuality and reaffirms "Ken Plummer's (1998) call for attention to 'stratifying homosexualities'" (p. 83). Andrew King and Ann Cronin incorporate attention to age in their assessment of the production and performance of sexual identities by older lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals. Michael Connors Jackman centers international and transnational sexualities and analyzes "them within a global framework of unequal power relations" (p. 115). Lorena Muñoz's chapter further broadens the intersectional perspective by examining the complex performance of sexuality by queer Latina and Latino street vendors in Los Angeles. She uses what she defines as a "queer of colour" methodology to reveal how spaces that appear to be heteronormative can be understood as "fluid temporal queer space" when shifting the standpoint to the experiences of queer Latinas and Latinos. She concludes by emphasizing the value of queer of colour critique for contesting the limits of "white queer" approaches that marginalize the "racialised 'other' and thus reinforcing homonormative privilege" (p. 66).

While many of the chapters evoke a feminist epistemological sensibility, Boellstorff's is most explicit in this regard, although he only cites queer studies scholars in his discussion of the link between epistemology, methodology, and method. However, almost twenty-five years ago, feminist philosopher Sandra Harding (1987:1–14) asked: "Is there a Feminist Method?" In answering the question, she distinguished between epistemology ("a theory of knowledge"), methodology ("a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed"), and method ("a technique for . . . gathering evidence"). She pointed out the "important connections between epistemologies, methodologies, and research methods" (1987:31). *Queer Methods and Methodologies* further illustrates this insight by demonstrating how queer epistemologies can inform research design, data gathering, analysis, and writing. As further evidence of the range of methods that could benefit from a "queer eye," in the concluding chapter, Kath Browne argues for the value of "queer quantification or queer(y)-ing quantification" (p. 231). She explains

that: ''To deconstruct methods and methodology that count and create state sanctioned subjectivities could be read as a 'queer' pursuit, particularly when the objects in question are based on sexualities and, potentially, normalisations within sexual identity categories'' (p. 235).

While some sociologists might find a few of the chapters hard going, especially those that are written from within a postmodern framework, this book is the first of its kind to bring together case studies that adopt a queer epistemology to social science research. As was the case for the development of feminist methodology, I expect that it will serve as a jumping-off point for subsequent efforts to clarify what a queer epistemology will offer social science research.

Reference

Harding, Sandra. 1987. ''Is There a Feminist Method?'' In *Feminism and Methodology*, edited by Sandra Harding. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Discrimination in an Unequal World, edited by **Miguel Angel Centeno** and **Katherine S. Newman.** New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 306pp. $27.95 paper. ISBN: 9780199732173.

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Discrimination in an Unequal World is an edited volume consisting of thirteen chapters—ten case studies and three introductory essays. Miguel Centeno and Katherine Newman, the editors, are both at Princeton University and affiliated with the Princeton Institute of International Studies. The contributors are from South Africa, Brazil, Japan, and India and report studies regarding inequality in those societies. The case studies are intriguing examinations of culturally specific forms of historic discrimination in highly unequal societies: pre- and post-apartheid South Africa, racially diverse modern Brazil, gender-divided, highly traditional Japan, and caste-riven India. While it is

notably difficult to equitably and comprehensively review edited volumes, the chapters are by and large well written, informed, and report important empirical studies. A sampling of several of the provocative selections will suffice.

Michael Cosser examines the state of higher educational opportunity in post-apartheid South Africa by measuring the percentage of students in the four major racial groups (blacks, coloreds, Indians, and whites) enrolled in higher education institutions against the aspirations for higher education expressed by those groups at grade 12. The comparison largely relies on a 2001–02 transition study (aspirations expressed by grade 12 learners in 2001 compared with the number of actual, first-time entering students in 2002) and a second similar transition study conducted in 2005–06. Generally, the study revealed a significant tapering off of interest in higher education among all four groups between the two time periods and one percent decline in enrollment overall during the same period. With respect to aspiration level, the greatest decline between the two periods was for blacks; the smallest among whites. Colored aspiration also declined. However, while the aspiration profile for blacks is disappointing, the enrollment figures show a percentage increase for blacks from 43 percent to 61 percent of higher education enrollees from 1994 to 2006 (although whites continue to benefit disproportionately from higher education opportunities: 25 percent of enrollees for 7 percent of the nation's population).

Justine Burns, on the other hand, attempts to investigate discrimination in an interactional context by reviewing racial identity studies of altruism and trust conducted in South Africa. The setting, of course, is unique since legislated discrimination, now replaced by ongoing efforts to address the legacies of apartheid, frames questions of whether racial identity might affect individual willingness to transfer resources to another (altruism) or pass on part of an endowment to an assigned partner in a distant location (trust). These contrived exercises are commonly called ''the dictator game'' and ''the trust game'' and may be ''played'' either anonymously (thereby hiding racial identity) or with racial cues and signals that rather transparently reveal the race of the partner. In the

dictator game, Burns found that black recipients were not treated significantly differently than white recipients, although black proposers favor black partners over whites. In the latter game, offers made to black responders were substantially lower (at the 1 percent significance level) as compared to offers made to white responders: 27 percent of the endowment as compared to 36 percent. Importantly, black proposers exhibited the same lack of trust toward black partners as whites. Burns concludes that while the dictator game results may suggest that overt racial discrimination has gradually weakened, the trust game suggests that blacks may continue to fare worse in actual monetary trade and exchange settings thereby hardening their already marginal economic position.

Finally, in two unrelated but parallel studies of Brazil and India, the investigators independently conclude that racial discrimination leading to unequal opportunity is either non-existent or mild at the bottom of society, but present and powerful for individuals whose origin is in the higher classes when entry (or retention) in the higher classes is at stake. In Brazil, Carlos Ribeiro reports that studies of class origin/educational qualification/ class destination suggest that white, *pardo* (mixed race/various shades of brown), and black individuals from the lower classes have equal chances of social mobility. This is true, in part, because the lower classes are composed of mainly *pardo* and blacks and educational qualification makes little difference for many lower class occupations. However, the fact that whites dominate the upper class in Brazil, and therefore can benefit inordinately from increased opportunities for higher educational qualifications, leads Ribeiro to conclude from his figures that racial discrimination clearly acts to restrict opportunity at the top of the class hierarchy.

Newman and Ashwini Deshpande, in their study of the effects of Indian caste origin on post-university employment, largely reach the same conclusion: while affirmative action policies that reserve placement for Dalits (untouchables) in elite universities help members of disfavored castes to gain entry, the background of overwhelming cultural, social, and financial advantage experienced by ''non-reservation'' elite university students helps them ''smooth the way'' in to better post-university employment. Indeed, as the authors report, job interviews in India typically include questions about the applicant's background—in a society where 33 percent of all ''reservation'' students' fathers are farmers, this fact alone can constitute a ''disqualifying'' social identity for many employers. In short, in Brazil and India the upper-class rich benefit from racial discrimination and get socially and financially richer—the racially discriminated against, whether from the same class, a neighboring class, or the lower class, get. . .

Punching Out: One Year in a Closing Auto Plant, by **Paul Clemens.** New York, NY: Doubleday, 2012. 271pp. $15.95 paper. ISBN: 9780767926935.

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Punching Out examines the closing of the Budd Company on the eastside of Detroit in 2006—an almost two million-square-foot facility that has been stamping out auto body parts for the auto industry since 1919. Despite its title, this is neither participant observation nor an ethnography of the last year of operation of the Budd plant. In fact, barely a Budd worker makes an appearance in this volume by writer Paul Clemens, known best for his autobiographical *Made in Detroit*. Instead, Clemens spends a year bearing witness to the decommissioning of the behemoth presses that once shook the world. A line that stamped out fenders for the Ford Explorer and the Ford Expedition would be moved to Aguascalientes, Mexico, another to Brazil—the rest dismantled for the scrap heap and salvage yard.

Once I got over my initial disappointment about what I thought this book was about, it is important to acknowledge that Clemens is filling an important gap in the literature about what transpires after a plant closes. In fact, we know very little about what happens behind those locked factory gates. While less dramatic than studying workers sent packing with a plant closing, the work process and the workers who process the remains of a plant

shutdown are no less important. I am always hopeful when journalists and writers like Clemens examine the workplace. Writers from Barbara Garson in her *All the Livelong Day*, Barbara Ehrenreich in *Nickel and Dimed,* and most recently Gabriel Thompson in his *Working in the Shadows* have made important sociological insights into the nature of work and the labor process.

Not restrained by sociological conventions, Clemens, like Ehrenreich before him, is an excellent writer. This guy knows how to turn a phrase, when to quote a classic—and his black humor gives a strong start to this volume. His discussion of what he calls ''ruin porn'' is caustic. ''The artistes were sure to come around to the corner of Charlevoix and Conner Avenues as well [the location of the Budd plant], armed with telephoto lens, French theory, and poetic notions'' (p. 253).

Sadly, however, this volume falls short of its promise. Clemens takes us along as he wanders through the massive Budd complex, finding the personnel office, old posters, and documents, full of wonder at the scale of the operation and the size of the presses. His observations are often witty and keen, but once it becomes clear that these observations are not connected either thematically or analytically, the writing begins to feel a bit like Clemens' wanderings.

In addition to his own observations he also writes about a ragtag group of workers dismantling the plant. In what are in essence a series of short stories, he tells us about security guards, welders, riggers, and their straw bosses who come in and out of the Budd site. While his writing is strong, Clemens is disadvantaged by his research methods in that he neither works alongside the workers nor interviews them. Consequently his portraits too often seem to stay at the observational level of male working-class banter and bragging. For example, he describes one worker who tells him that he does not drink. ''He considered the dubious accuracy of this and then added, 'I drank thirty-two beers the other night, between six o'clock and one in the morning, but that was the first time in a long time.' He wasn't entirely sure how he got back to the motel, but said, 'I remember pissing on a Dumpster on 9 Mile Road''' (p. 185). I can see this guy telling this story— a curious mix of swagger and shame—to his work buddies and this writer guy who hangs out with then. Maybe it's true or not, but more importantly what is the story behind this? Who is this worker and what has brought him to this?

Here Clemens' writing seems very much in the tradition of Carolyn Chute's *The Beans of Egypt, Maine* or Joe Bageant's *Deer Hunting with Jesus*. This is the gonzo working class, exploited, alienated, and half-crazed. Entertaining as these vignettes are, they end up as a pretty thin description of the workers, both the work they do and the lives they live. For example, he describes one worker as very skilled, yet tells us nothing about that skill or even much about the work he does. There is an important story to tell here of marginal workers—many themselves jettisoned by employers like Budd—working on contingent contracts on the far margins of capitalism. But, undoubtedly this is not a simple story of one-liners and casual observation.

So buy this book for a witty and entertaining read about a year behind the gates of a closed plant. But for an analysis of work and the workers involved in decommissioning a plant we will have to wait.

Gender-Class Equality in Political Economies, by **Lynn Prince Cooke.** New York, NY: Routledge, 2011. 270 pp. $34.95 paper. ISBN: 9780415994422.

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Scholars interested in both the complexity and the resilience of inequalities in contemporary societies will find much food for thought in this broadly comparative investigation by Lynn Prince Cooke. Taking as her focus six of the globe's more affluent economies, Cooke explores both the historical roots and contemporary manifestations of gender, class, and (to a much lesser degree) ethnic diversity in wages, employment rates, and time spent in both paid and unpaid (domestic) work. Framed by concise introductory and concluding chapters, Cooke's text explores the unique dimensions of what she

terms ''gender-class'' equality regimes in Australia, (former)East and West Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The term ''gender-class equality'' that Cooke introduces here seeks to capture the complex and often countervailing effects that movements to promote greater gender or class equity (both policy- and market-driven) seem to have had on one another.

In a series of focused chapters, Cooke reviews long-term patterns of socio-economic and gender disparities in each country. She links specific, national variations to each state's unique history of pursuing valued demographic (fertility and immigration) goals, modes of educational access, and efforts to regulate workplace rights and wage equity. Drawing on primary databases such as the Luxembourg Income Study and those produced by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Cooke evaluates the statistically observable effects both of direct policy interventions and of more indirect market-based modes of social transformation. Her results document a persistent pattern of gender and class trade-offs wherein the achievement of greater equity in one arena seems to produce reductions in the other. Where present, Cooke's attention to ethnic diversity adds to the complexity of these trade-offs, for example, by appearing to limit the benefits of increases in gender equity measures to specific (e.g., ethnic majority) class fractions at the expense of others.

Taken as a whole, Cooke's analysis provides a fascinating vantage point from which to assess the distinctive and even divergent forms of gender-class equality that have characterized each of the six case-study societies over the past century. Ultimately, Cooke asserts that each country's pattern of gender-class equality must be understood in relation to its unique ''institutional equality frame,'' a concept that focuses primarily on the intersecting effects of state policies and market forces but which also incorporates some attention to cultural effects such as the influence of religious institutions and broader social values. These latter, however, remain sketched in largely stereotypical terms (e.g., Catholic influences in Germany and Spain, free-market values in the United States) and represent a persistent weakness in Cooke's analysis.

Broader cultural settings and ideological forces remain significantly underexamined and overgeneralized throughout this study. Nevertheless, Cooke's quantitative and comparative focus does enable a wide-angle perspective on the complex ways in which key policy choices taken by nineteenth-century states—specifically in relation to population, education, and labor regulation—set the stage for the divergent paths that gender and class equality struggles would later take in each country. Most importantly, Cooke makes clear the value of assessing how different arenas of social inequality intersect with each other and most especially how policies aimed at reducing inequalities in one arena can (unintentionally) increase inequalities in others.

At root Cooke's study seeks to trace the persistence of gendered inequalities in contemporary developed political economies. Despite decades of reform and at least rhetorical commitments to gender equity in the workplace and other social arenas, the persistent pay gap between men and women remains strong (although to varying degrees in each of the six studied nations). Even more noticeable for Cooke is the persistent disparity in men's and women's paid and unpaid labor contributions and the ways in which these are socially and materially valued. Cooke's attention to this dimension of inequality is particularly insightful as she identifies the ways in which, for each case study, the substantial differences in social and material value given to unpaid as opposed to paid labor articulates with other aspects of gender and class inequality. Cooke notes the recent efforts of social investment policies aimed at raising the human capital of underrepresented groups in order to nurture their full participation as market actors. While these policies take slightly different forms in each of these countries, Cooke suggests that these efforts will falter in the achievement of larger social goals due to their inability to address socially necessary but undervalued domestic and reproductive labor. While Cooke is by no means the first to identify the significance of unpaid labor for shaping gendered regimes of inequality, her analysis offers new evidence of the ways in which differential material and social rewards to paid and unpaid labor undergird much broader and persistent structures of

disparity across contemporary industrialized societies. In so doing, Cooke points to the importance of developing policies that can address these inequities not only within market-based arenas of social life but also within realms of non-market social activity which are nonetheless essential to the regeneration of community and family and to the fostering of the human potential of us all.

Demanding the Land: Urban Popular Movements in Peru and Ecuador, 1990–2005, by **Paul Dosh.** University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010. 262pp. $75.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780271037073.

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Demanding the Land is a motivating and important book. Paul Dosh analyzes with lucidity different invasion case studies, their organization and strategies, as well as the differentiation in generational terms allowing large trajectories to be understood in the context of the cities of Quito and Lima.

The book presents two different countries within their political and urban metropolitan context in similar periods of time. In doing so, it contributes to the knowledge of Latin America urban reality, where the majority of the population lives in so-called "self constructed" habitats, which result from squatting land, illegal invasions, permanent claims, and urban popular movements to gain the right of becoming a resident of the cities.

In six chapters, the author goes from a detailed discussion of social movement theory with especial attention to the role of structure, to an in-depth analysis of ten case studies. In Chapter One, Dosh initially conceptualizes strategies in terms of legality and autonomy, building a typology that supports the analytical construction called "strategy life cycle." Here, he reviews different concepts and accentuates three analytical aspects in the study: the organizational strategy, the organizational success and organizational survival of the movement. The author then conceptualizes external and internal factors that contribute to success or failure on the demand for services. Finally, in order to explain organizational survival, the concept of organizational stages of development and the analytical tool of the "security trap" are introduced. The rest of the book examines the three levels of demand for service at the metropolitan level, at the neighborhood level, and finally at the level of individual demands for services.

Dosh offers a comparative analysis of land invasions in the metropolitan areas of Lima and Quito, which is a permanent dynamic of invasion and settlements for inhabitants in those Latin American metropolises, since several decades ago, forming the largest territories of barrios with self-constructed housing. He presents with rigor the urban and geographic aspects of Lima and Quito, as well as the existing political characteristics during the time of the organization case study. He differentiates between a politically centralized city such as Lima to a politically decentralized city such as Quito, establishing a permanent reference regarding the movements and land invasion settlers. In this sense, the exceptional weather conditions in dry Lima easily allow settlers to build and rapidly expand due to the desert conditions, whereas in rainy Quito, settlers need to think twice regarding construction materials and the mountainous land. The author also refers to the existence of contrasting leadership styles that vary from democratization experiences to *Caciquismo* leadership, sometimes authoritarian. After a detailed review of twenty possible case studies, Dosh selected ten cases representing land invasion in both cities, and chose for the unit of analysis invasion *"organizations"* more than neighborhoods, arguing that sometimes the same organization could represent two land settlers' invasions. Subsequent analysis allowed the author to group the cases into five analytically useful pairs, including what he calls two *Old Guard clients*, two *Old Guard radicals*, two larger *older Next Generation* cases, two small *newer Next Generation* cases, and two *Innovators*. The fieldwork resulted in a total of 70 interviews and rich "empirical process observations."

Latin American land invasions have long been an historical practice, to solve the housing scarcity problem for the majority of urban populations. Sometimes, land invasions are organized squatters, or a couple of

families, and at other times a private land-lord, who will negotiate with land distribu-tors. Dosh argues that the neighborhood analysis approach must be complemented at the national level and at the metropolitan level of analysis in order to understand the differences between urban land invasion in Lima and Quito as well as in other Latin American cities.

Using an analytical matrix that includes stage of development, neighbor leaders, external and internal factors and outcomes, Dosh develops a detail-oriented analysis of the life of each organization with different historical moments and strategies, interior dynamics and different leaders, some author-itarian, who even developed extreme and violent strategies with lynching crimes resulting (*Old Guard case of Pissulli, Quito*). Through the analysis we observed that *Old Guard organizations* usually characterized by rigidity and inflexibility combined with authoritarian leadership do not produce success.

By contrast, the organizations called by the author the *"Innovators"* characterized by power sharing, nonviolence, and use of tech-nology were the three key aspects for success.

In general, action related to land titles, which imply recognition as well as formal-ization and regularization of the land and houses of the settlers, has been a failure in the majority of the cases. No matter what kind of organization, what strategy, or what leader negotiations, the pursuit of land titles has been a failure. From the ten organization case studies, 27 demands for land titles were requested, 23 failed, and only 4 succeeded. Although this study in land invasions and their organizations is significant in terms of urban movements, it is clear that urban set-tlers without land regularization remain in an informal and vulnerable condition, and will be always subject to eviction.

The Bureaucrat and the Poor: Encounters in French Welfare Offices, by **Vincent Dubois.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. 206pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9781409402893.

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The Bureaucrat and the Poor is an English-language translation of Vincent Dubois' *La vie au guichet: Relation administrative et traitmente de la misere,* published in France in 1999. In it, Dubois examines the relation-ship between ''street-level bureaucrats'' (Lipsky 1980) and welfare recipients. The book is based on six months of observations and interviews in two French welfare offices, and Dubois' primary focus is on interactions between welfare agents and welfare clients at the reception desk. He argues that the reception desk is symbolic of the divide between the state and the people. At these desks, reception agents represent a boundary or mediator between these two entities. However, Dubois seeks to dispel what he sees as the false, oppositional dichotomy that often characterizes understandings of bureaucratic interactions: that of the imper-sonal bureaucratic agent versus the standard welfare client. In doing so, he succeeds at illustrating the complex ways public policy operates at the ground level. This work is particularly useful in comparison to similar studies of neoliberal welfare policy in the United States.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "The Social Conditions of the Administrative Relationship,'' focuses on the relationship between welfare clients' public and private lives as mediated by bureaucratic identifica-tion. Dubois focuses on how clients internal-ize bureaucratic identifications assigned to them by welfare agents. He illustrates that, rather than react emotionally, welfare agents generally receive the news of an event such as a divorce or the death of a child in a bureaucratic manner, seeking to find the proper form or code number for the client to utilize. Clients also often use administra-tive terminology for such events. However, this administrative relationship is stratified

by economic status—those less dependent on welfare programs are less required to reveal aspects of the intimate areas of their lives and have them bureaucratized.

Here Dubois explicitly discusses how encounters in the welfare office are formed around "disciplining" routines designed to prevent conflict and fragment the public. He argues that the physical organization of these offices fosters a transformation from "the free individual, for whom it is suitable to manifest one's critical mind towards the administration, to the compliant recipient, who not only observes the norm, but also does it with courtesy" (p. 44). Drawing from Bourdieu, Dubois makes a strong argument that bureaucratic identification is an exemplary case of symbolic violence, the product of relationships of domination. However, it is notable and puzzling that he does not relate these discussions to Foucault's foundational work.

Part II, "The Agent's Two Bodies," focuses on the implementation of institutional practices from the welfare reception agents' perspectives. Dubois begins by highlighting the contradiction between welfare agents' embodiment as representatives of the state and as concrete individuals. He vividly illustrates how agents strategically alternate personal and professional responses to client requests and client suffering. This section would have significantly benefited from a tie to the literature on emotional labor (e.g., Hochschild 1983) which has already developed similar concepts.

Dubois' primary argument here is that agents have different personal dispositions, competences, and individual paths that lead to a wide variation in the supposedly standardized job of welfare reception agent. He provides solid illustrations of these processes, but this does not add much to what has already been written on this topic. Other scholars, most similarly Lipsky (1980), describe the contradiction street-level bureaucrats face in trying to apply rules uniformly while in positions that require discretion. An interesting and more unique aspect of Dubois' analysis is his discussion of how the agent's socially-positioned self not only influences the agent's institutional behaviors and reactions, but can also be "activated" by clients.

Part III, "Questioning the Institutional Order," examines the tensions and fractures in the relationship of domination between the institution and the public, and how agents manage these moments. Dubois finds that agents use several strategies to address mistakes, including blaming "the computer." They understood that blaming other agents would ultimately lower their own credibility and authority. Dubois argues that tension arises in cases where clients bring the injustice of a particular policy to an agent's attention. The agent faces a tension between sharing their personal agreement and upholding the rule as just, in order to maintain the credibility of the institution and their institutional self.

The most interesting claim is in the final pages of the book. Dubois argues that the increasingly poor social conditions of those who visit the office have led to change in the institution that can be attributed to clients' expectations. For clients who are becoming more socially isolated (having lost jobs, or family members, for example), the welfare office is an important place for socializing with both other clients and agents, from whom they seek concern and help and to whom they can express their unhappiness. This results in the uncomfortable redefinition of the agents' roles in the institution, which Dubois concludes "drives street-level bureaucracies to complex and unplanned transformations" (p. 182). While Lipsky (1980) argued that street-level bureaucrats change policy from the bottom up through their discretion in implementation, Dubois argues that the fragility of bureaucratic roles allows institutions to evolve outside of the top/bottom model of institutional change. This is an interesting contribution that had the potential to be a major contribution, and it should have been developed further.

Overall, *The Bureaucrat and the Poor* provides empirical evidence for some of Lipsky's and others' theoretical claims about street-level bureaucrats, as Dubois intends. It makes for a good comparison to similar U.S. studies, and is a solid illustration of the fundamental sociological concept of the interplay between structure and agency. However, it is hard to say that it makes

a substantially new contribution to the study of bureaucratic institutions and public policy.

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Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age, by **Jennifer Earl** and **Katrina Kimport.** Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011. 258pp. $32.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780262015103.

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In *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*, Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport survey how online environments have influenced social movements in the twenty-first century, and they offer compelling arguments as to why ''the Web can allow more than the simple augmentation of protest: innovative uses of the Web can transform protest'' (p. 19).

To fortify this essential contention, the book works through various aspects of what they call a new ''digital repertoire of contention.'' They work through this development by way of ''affordances'' along two main tracks: *reduced costs* (dominating considerations in Chapters Four and Five) and *reduced need for co-present action* (taken up centrally in Chapters Six and Seven). Ultimately, Earl and Kimport posit that lowering transaction costs for protest action, and enhancing the ability to engage in collective action in the absence of physical togetherness provide key advantages for organizing and participation in social movement activities.

To reach these conclusions, the authors gathered data from websites in 2004 to examine affordances in four forms: petitions, letter writing campaigns, email campaigns, and boycotts. While noting that these actions and activities pre-date web activity (particularly noted in Chapter Three), Earl and Kimport ''focus on these four tactical forms, or 'e-tactical forms'...because they are new, dynamic, and interesting, offering compelling examples of how protest occurs online and how tactical forms with offline progenitors operate in the online arena'' (p. 17). They place a central critical gaze on the dynamics of ''e-tactics,'' which are argued to take up a middle ground in a continuum of online activism (between ''e-mobilizations'' where virtual organizing facilitates offline protest action, and ''e-movements'' where all actions take place online).

Among strengths in this contribution is their bold and explicit methodological approach to what is undoubtedly a dynamic, decentralized, and distributed subject of study. While the data are unavoidably dated due to the rapidity of developments in these spaces (such as Twitter's influence in sparking the 2011 ''Arab Spring''), the authors do well to make explicit their data collection processes. These efforts—particularly in the appendix—add tremendous value to potential future research in sociology, environmental studies, politics, and cultural studies. While the scope of the book does not include considerations of Facebook, Google+, and Twitter because they arose after the data collection for this book, the methodological foundations here enable these inquiries to follow.

In addition, through this work Earl and Kimport push readers to consider contemporary organizing with greater nuance, as they challenge the connections often assumed between protest, contention, and social movements (especially in Chapter Seven). They write, ''we question whether organizing even needs to be collective at all'' and pose the question, ''Can innovative uses of Internet-enabled technologies reduce the necessity of collective organizing altogether?'' (p. 147). Such provocation in the book is largely productive, as it draws out questions regarding how ''parties of one'' or ''lone-wolf organizers'' can spark social change via digital technologies, in ways not before possible.

Yet, while the authors opened up spaces for these considerations, they failed to take them further analytically in two main ways. First, they limited inquiries to questions of

sufficient conditions, without fully evaluating potential degrees of successes and failures of digital activism. The authors flatly state, "this work is not able to assess success" (p. 95), but it was not clear why this was the case. They add, "centrally, we are studying people's *uses* of the Web for protest, just as other scholars of protest focus on what people are doing" (p. 201). Yet an analysis of what these online actions achieve would have improved the value of the contributions made. Second, the authors stopped short of examining political, social, economic, or cultural effects of such organizing, particularly in terms of potential counter-movement strategizing. In the case of climate change (with which I am most familiar), contrarian "astroturf" organizations who have been found to have ties to carbon-based industry interests—such as "Americans for Prosperity"—have worked to harness the power of web-based organizing in order to create an appearance of grassroots resistance to climate legislation at the U.S. federal level.

Moreover, when Earl and Kimport did consider effects, the spectrum of consideration here—from "supersizing" to "theory 2.0"—was all rather optimistic. In their appraisal, they stated, "the more the affordances are leveraged, the more transformative the changes are to organizing and participation processes. . .the less these affordances are leveraged," the more superficial the changes (p.13). But costs were given short shrift. For example, how might these forms of organizing—sometimes deemed "armchair activism"—run the risk of displacing co-present commitments? How might instant gratification from online actions possibly diminish the perceived value of Rudi Dutschke-inspired "long marches"? Examples of low-accountability virtual organizing and actions, quickly fading from the public view, abound. Yet discussions of these pitfalls were limited to and labeled in Chapter Four as the "Skeptics Corner." Earl and Kimport seemed to attempt to skirt costs by rhetorically asking, "whether there is some meaningful middle ground between skepticism and faithful optimism" (p. 95). But, all researchers are (or at least should be) skeptics.

Essentially, in this book, the authors interrogate claims that tools of digital technology enable a new era of social movement possibility. They assert that their work here informs ongoing and needed scholarship, as "uses of the Web may change what we know about protest" (p. 173). Overall, *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age* does well to provide guidance for ongoing research to further explore the contours of social change in the time of burgeoning uses of new social media technologies around the world.

The Global Grapevine: Why Rumors of Terrorism, Immigration, and Trade Matter, by **Gary Alan Fine** and **Bill Ellis.** New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010. 255 pp. $27.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780199736317.

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Electronic mail and social media have opened up new frontiers for circulating information and ideas—including false-but-powerful information and ideas. These rumors are the subject of a humanities/social science collaboration taken up in *The Global Grapevine.* The book catalogs a variety of rumors, their morphology and diffusion, and why they matter.

Specifically, the book claims, "globalism" gives rise to a series of anxieties about international flows of people and money. These anxieties show up in the form of rumors that gain widespread distribution and belief. The book lists four kinds in particular: rumors about terrorism, immigration, international trade, and tourism. These four are obviously connected by their thematic role connecting global flows to implicit dangers; they also encourage those who receive and believe them to maintain and expand fear of outsiders.

A real strength of this book is its careful attention to specific rumors: early forms, ways they change as they make their way around the world, and how they are received. The first chapter, for example, traces rumors about the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. These include rumors about miraculous rescues and survival but also more sinister "truth-claims" about responsibility. For

example, the claim that Arab taxi drivers disappeared from Manhattan prior to the attacks underscores the racialized narrative surrounding the attacks. The book also presents a news photograph in which some observers claimed to see an image of "Satan in the smoke." I confess I am unable to locate Satan or even the shape others take to be Satan; to some extent that is the book's point: rumors need little or no substantive truth value to be taken as convincing by some groups.

There are numerous other strengths, both in content and in form. The book succeeds in taking seriously claims and ideas that many of us would tend to dismiss out of hand; believers are cast not as dupes but as ordinary people channelling widespread anxieties. The case they make for the interrelated character of rumors about globalization is strong, and the ways rumors, jokes, and other forms of informal information transmission work is an important and interesting finding. The book is also written in a tone that is at once highly approachable and systematic in its presentation.

However, the attempt at causal and interpretive analysis falls short. The very gullibility that makes rumors interesting, the book suggests, "is a barometer of popular concerns" (p. 149) and emerges "wherever circumstances are ambiguous, issues are important, and critical ability is low" (p. 175). No evidence is provided for this position. Rumors could be convincing because they express anxieties that persist in densely-networked marginal communities, or even because they play to popular expectations, *not* concerns. The "wherever" claim is even more poorly documented. Are we to take this claim literally? I can think of few situations that are *not* characterized by these conditions at least to some extent! So how to explain variation in the prevalence of rumors given the ubiquity of the claimed cause?

I might suggest adding a sense of *violation* to rumors that seem credible. Consider the false rumors of viruses and the like that clog my inbox and those of many other people. These raise the specter that the user's computer—a private space—may be violated if care is not taken. It is an interesting twist on the story that these virus rumors are, themselves, viewed as security threats as they consume resources by "riding" on their success in fooling nervous readers.

The interpretations, too, sometimes stray far from the credible. Consider the so-called "Mexican pet" rumor, in which an ignorant American couple smuggles in an adorable dog from Mexico, takes it to a veterinarian for treatment, and finds to their surprise that it is not a dog at all but actually a Mexican water rat. "If nothing else," the book claims, "the Mexican pet is an undocumented alien. It is a stand-in for those workers who[m] naïve Americans believe they need, but who can turn deadly..." (p. 135). Other than the analogical point that the pet has been smuggled across a border, there is no particular reason to believe that the spread of this rumor is the result of anxieties over illegal immigration, and no systematic evidence provided that would support that hypothesis over others. Similarly, a widespread 1940s joke about eating then-exotic bananas is reasonably interpreted as demonstrating that exoticism. Next, though, the book implores us to "Add to this the phallic imagery of the banana, and the joke may have had several layers: nativist and sexual" (p. 158). Yes, it "may" have had these layers, but it may not have; sometimes a banana is, well, just a banana!

These disputes are important, but do not undermine the overall quality of the book. In fact, it is this humanities-style interpretive work that makes the book fun to read and raises the promise in the subtitle: "why rumors... matter." While the book's answer to that question proves less than satisfying, the journey it takes in the attempt makes it well worth reading, considering, and talking about.

The Social Fund 20 Years On: Historical and Policy Aspects of Loaning Social Security, by **Chris Grover.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. 295pp. $124.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754678663.

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The Social Fund 20 Years On examines one particular and interesting dimension of British provision for the poor: state-sponsored loans to impoverished individuals. In tracing Britain's history of making loans part of the array of ''relief'' offered to its most economically vulnerable citizens, author Chris Grover raises a number of important practical and ethical questions for scholars of welfare policy in developed nations. The research is based primarily on a detailed examination of central government files at the United Kingdom's National Archives, supplemented by local archives, and—for the sections dealing with recent history— with correspondence and interviews with pertinent civil servants. The result of this mostly document-based research is a fine-grained history of this segment of poor relief, which at the same time examines what values go into a decision to loan, rather than grant, a portion of what the state decides to allot to their least fortunate citizens.

As Grover points out, making loans to the people least able to pay them has a long and rather complex history that is not unique to Britain. Loan sharks, pawn shops, and pay-day loan businesses are private approaches to providing credit for the poor that grew with capitalism. Less egregiously is the local merchant willing to provide credit for food, drink, or provisions based on neighborly knowledge that the borrower was ''good for it'' or perhaps out of a charitable impulse when a fellow community member was in desperate need. (Debt forgiveness is also a well-worn tradition.) One recurrent age-old reason that loans are needed is seasonal—either to meet the costs of fuel during the winter or because one's occupation is seasonal and is dormant during certain times of year. Another reason, that began to matter as factory work began to dominate the economy, was an unexpected expense due to

labor disputes such as the 1926 Mining Lock-out, when loans were used as a form of poor relief to affected families. Whether the state, rather than private business or unions, should provide no-interest loans to people in these circumstances is a question that has recurred at several points in British history.

In some sense, it seems an odd question— if the state has already decided that part of its job is to provide those defined as needy with funds sufficient to survive, why not just give impoverished citizens grants when they have unexpected or seasonal increases in need? Why additionally encumber those least able to pay with debt owed to the state? It is in answering this question that Grover examines the ethical presumptions behind the welfare state, starting with the philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, whose writings set the stage for legislation allowing for state-sponsored relief loans in a bill that amended Britain's poor relief laws passed in 1819. It is the perceived relationship between credit and character, Grover argues, which drove the idea of making loans part of the state-sponsored provision for the poor. Indeed, the very word credit, as the author notes, is derived from the Latin word *credo*—to believe or trust. As character improvement has seemingly always been part of the poor relief agenda, it is unsurprising that extending credit to the poor came to be seen as both a test of the recipient's character and a means for its improvement. Indeed, during the Thatcher years, loans from the Social Fund as a significant element of poor relief were said to help counter the ''sullen apathy of dependence,'' as Secretary of State for Social Services John Moore put it (p. 156). Not incidentally, substituting loans for grants for such occasional or seasonal expenses as children's school clothing and supplies and heating fuel, helped to limit requests for help. It was also argued by Conservatives that the loan fund would also be mostly self-financing. Although Britain's new coalition government is ending the Social Fund mechanism through new legislation, loans as a form of state poor relief may well increase under the new legislation. Grover concludes that state-sponsored loans to the poor are an unethical aspect of the welfare system but one likely to remain entrenched in it as long as policy designers see character

"reform" and self-financed programs as linked objectives for poor relief.

This work will be mostly of use to readers who are professional students of comparative welfare policy, and historians of the welfare state and labor policy. It is conveniently organized into chapters that may be read independently; each deals with a specific aspect of the development and use of loans as a partial provision of British welfare policy. A familiarity with British welfare policy and its many programs is helpful, but not essential, to a full appreciation for where the Social Fund and its predecessors fit within the broader British social assistance program. Rather than an evaluation of the effectiveness of state-sponsored loans to the poor, this work guides the reader through the question of what is behind such a policy's formation and acceptance, and lodges each incarnation of the policy squarely within the socio-political and economic contexts in which loans became a part of British poverty policy. In so doing, readers gain an increased ability to reflect on the motivations and ethics behind poor relief strategies in complex societies while learning how "loans to the poor" evolved as a segment of poverty policy in the United Kingdom.

Agewise: Fighting the New Ageism in America, by **Margaret Morganroth Gullette.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011. 294pp. $29.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780226310732.

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What's new about "the new ageism"? Certainly, it is not only the different dimensions of ageism which Margaret Gullette has amply documented and analyzed. These include institutionalized discrimination in the workplace and the healthcare system, preoccupation with the physical signs of aging and the search for remedies to retard the process, worries about declining sexual interest and appeal, fears of illness and declining mental capacities, and the prejudices and stereotypes associated with aging.

The status and respect for older people all around the world has been declining as a result of cultural and structural changes associated with modernization, industrialization, and the development of capitalism. This varies, of course, depending on the culture and traditions of the society in question, but it has been the trend in advanced industrial societies. In the United States we have been aware of our youth-oriented society and culture for a long time. Women, particularly, have long been searching for ways to preserve their appearance to stave off the signs of encroaching age. Men have not been immune from such worries about hair loss and hair color, wrinkles, and expanding waistlines. In 1967 the ADEA (Age Discrimination in Employment Act) was passed to prohibit discrimination against people over forty in the workforce. The term "ageism" was coined by Robert Butler in 1968 to refer to various dimensions of age discrimination and prejudice.

What is new, now, is that these problems affect a larger segment of our population as the Baby Boomers reach middle and old age—anti-aging hype has become increasingly shrill. The problems are especially acute today because of changes in the economy which have resulted in a massive loss of jobs and benefits (like health coverage and pensions), shrinking of the middle class, and consolidation of wealth in the hands of few. Gullette locates the new ageism, and the political and economic policies associated with it, to have begun in the 1980s. An increase in government deregulation of corporations and policies weakened the power of labor. Factories were closed where unions were stronger and moved to the South where they were weaker. Then began the shift of manufacturing, technical, and service jobs to other parts of the world where labor costs were cheaper and tax benefits greater. Corporate mergers resulted in losses of middle management jobs. These government and corporate polices led to the economic crisis we are dealing with today.

As people live longer healthy and active lives, the economic reality of our labor market is that middle-aged and older workers are being replaced by entry-level, part-time, and temporary workers who are paid less and often have to work without benefits. Or their jobs have been lost entirely due to downsizing and shifting jobs overseas. If

these displaced workers can even find new jobs, they often are underemployed. Taking a job as a greeter in Walmart is not what they had in mind for their golden years.

Measures to protect the interests of the middle-aged and older are not being enforced and the courts recently have not been supportive toward age discrimination claims. Those who rant about government spending threaten cuts in Medicare at a time when more people are depending on it. The message is that health care for older people needs to be "rationed" and perhaps they have a "duty to die" rather than become a drain on the allegedly overburdened and expensive systems of care. Meanwhile, the cosmetics industry, plastic surgeons, and pharmaceutical companies profit as the market of men and women seeking to allay their fears of looking too old to hold a job or attract a partner expands downward to people in their thirties.

Gullette ties all these strands together with concepts of a "culture of decline" and the institutionalized "systems of decline" that profoundly and negatively affect the way we see our passage through the life course. These cultural assumptions of decline are imposed upon us.

Gullette uses provocative and sociologically unconventional types of evidence in the largest part of the book. She draws on the experiences of friends and acquaintances, her own family, and literary sources to show more positive alternatives to prevalent assumptions for interpreting people's life course narratives. This makes her work accessible to a wider audience than academics, which is clearly her intent. Hers is a consciousness-raising mission, to take ageism as seriously as racism and sexism. It is a major social issue which impacts all of us into the future.

The most interesting and eye-opening part of the book was her discussion of our fear of dementia, which she argues, like other aspects of aging, is cultivated by drug companies and medical professions. Dementia is often equated with Alzheimer's, which we assume is more widespread than it actually is. Our focus on memory as the prime function to worry about when evaluating someone's mental capacities belies that we all forget things from time to time, but are encouraged to see this as a fearsome symptom of decline. Gullette points out that medical staffs often note only instances that confirm a preconception of decline rather than instances that indicate positive functioning. This is similar to Goffman's observation that staff in the mental hospital he studied only recorded behaviors that confirmed (in their minds) mental illness, and noted none of the behaviors that indicated normality—he believed that many of the so-called symptoms could well have another explanation (Goffman 1961).

I saw this medical bias first-hand when my mother collapsed after my father's funeral and was rushed to the hospital to have a pacemaker installed. When my brother, sister, and I met with her doctor after the surgery, he said to us that now we need to discuss her "dementia." We looked at each other in disbelief—"what the heck was he talking about?" True, she did not remember passing out and was temporarily confused. But that quickly passed and she was mentally functioning on all levels. I was led to reconsider some of my friends who seem very quick to assume that people in their lives might be in the early stages of Alzheimer's. And how many times have we temporarily blocked on remembering the name of a book or film and jokingly passed it off as "having a senior moment?" We are encouraged to worry about and see signs of dementia where they do not exist.

My main concern with this book is that the primary focus is cultural: we fight ageism by changing the way we think about aging and how we construct our life course narratives. To be fair, Gullette has provided a devastating cultural critique—and she discusses a number of institutional changes that are needed to address ageism, but it is not clear how to accomplish these changes. Corporations need to be concerned about more than the bottom line and short-term gain, and politicians and the government need to care about more than protecting corporate interests. Where is the effective pressure to make these changes? Older people comprise the largest category of those who vote, but they are not all of one mind about where their interests lie; the problem of false consciousness abounds. As we have seen with racism and sexism, years of organizing on various

levels and large-scale collective efforts to get progress in these areas have not solved these problems. There is potential for organizing by many retirees who have the time and skills.

Younger people need to become more aware and involved. When I asked my undergraduate class what ageism meant to them, the response was ''older people telling us we are too young and inexperienced to do various things.'' This is the form of ageism which is closest to their life experience (not dealt with in this book) and it seemed difficult for these students to visualize what ageism might mean for those who are older. As Gullette argues, the culture of decline affects people of all ages, so perhaps we should also be concerned with raising the consciousness of the young. This book is a wake-up call for all of us.

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Kids Don't Want to Fail: Oppositional Culture and the Black-White Achievement Gap, by **Angel L. Harris.** Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. 320pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780674057722.

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Angel Harris' book has many virtues that make it intellectually engaging. It exposes several weaknesses in oppositional culture theory (OPCT), particularly in the ''assumed'' parts of the theory, regarding black disinvestment from education due to discrimination and unfair access to opportunity for mobility. The book also offers alternative explanations for patterns associated with the more directly ''testable'' elements of the theory, such as higher levels of negative school behaviors and lower levels of achievement among black students. The analysis incorporates a number of data sources and takes advantage of advanced modeling strategies. The book is excellently organized and pays attention to alternative views on issues addressed in the analysis.

In questioning OPCT's foundational assumptions, Harris provides historical evidence that discrimination has not necessarily been a reason for blacks to place less value on education, but instead has often been a key motive to pursue more schooling. Harris' discussion is based largely on scholarship addressing the experience of Southern blacks before, during, and after Jim Crow. But the central insight is also consistent with more recent evidence concerning the black experience in the post-World War II era in the North and elsewhere (e.g., Rury and Hill 2011). The analysis also throws into question the notion that black families may under-emphasize education because of the perception of barriers to opportunity after school. Many parents, instead, encourage children to do better in school because of discrimination they may face later. The insight that a marginalized group need not necessarily become oppositional sets the stage for much of the subsequent argumentation.

The analysis then focuses on how students may anticipate future discrimination but still maintain an achievement orientation in school. Pointing out the conflation of these issues in John Ogbu's original work, Harris differentiates between ''perceived barriers to opportunity (despite education)'' and ''perceived value of schooling for mobility.'' This, he notes, is similar to Mickelson's (1990) distinction between abstract attitudes (e.g., ''schooling is important for success'') and concrete attitudes (e.g., ''people like *me* do not fairly benefit from schooling''), but that his distinction is an improvement over Mickelson's. However, Harris' distinction may reflect a slightly different conceptual approach rather than one that is inherently better.

According to Mickelson, there is little black/white difference in perceived value of schooling in the abstract sense, but blacks' concrete attitudes towards schooling are less positive than whites', and are correlated to performance more strongly than abstract attitudes. In contrast, Harris finds that, although blacks anticipate greater barriers to opportunity, they value school the same way whites do, and their perception of

school's value is more strongly related to achievement than is their anticipation of barriers to opportunity. Thus, while Mickelson treats "valuing school for mobility" as an abstract attitude and finds that it is not strongly associated with outcomes, Harris treats it as a perception distinct from "perceived barriers to opportunity" and finds that it *is* related to performance. Despite this difference, however, some (though not all) items in Harris' "perceived value of school for mobility" scale are similar to those Mickelson uses to measure concrete attitudes (e.g., "getting a good education is important for kids in my neighborhood" [Harris] versus "when given homework, my friends never think of doing it" [Mickelson]). Therefore, although the differences in construct design may not be entirely redundant, Harris' approach overlaps empirically with Mickelson's in certain ways. Ultimately, Harris' view is more consistent with his own theoretical framework in the book, which takes, as a starting point, the black experience and perception of discrimination and opportunity.

The next issue that Harris addresses is associated with school behaviors. If black students value schooling despite barriers to opportunity, then what is the primary source of their relatively higher levels of negative school behaviors (e.g., truancy, suspension)? More importantly, are such behaviors "purposeful," as OPCT suggests? Harris demonstrates that the magnitude and effects of oppositional tendencies may be overestimated. He highlights two other important factors. First, blacks may have greater difficulty in converting cultural resources to cultural capital instrumental for academic success. Therefore, while students may be *un*oppositional, they may lack the tacit competencies and styles or the "tool kit" (Swidler 1986) necessary for navigating the mainstream educational system, which results in disengagement and less effort. Although Harris does not directly test this dynamic, he addresses its negative effects, especially when teachers and schools are prone to misinterpreting black students' behaviors as oppositional. He also offers evidence that black students manifest a number of positive behaviors.

The second factor Harris highlights is the effects of black disadvantage in prior academic skills, those that should be nurtured in early grades. He tests some of those effects and finds that limited prior skills are related to lack of effort and unproductive school orientation later. The results also illustrate the extent to which oppositional effects may be overestimated when disadvantage in prior skills are unaccounted for, which points to the need for considerable extension in research.

Another important finding is that black students may not view academic success as "acting white" as commonly as many assume. Successful blacks do not experience difficulty in making friends, although they may "camouflage" their success at times. Also, having a sense of ethnic belonging is a source of confidence and productivity for many black students. That being said, Harris reports that 17 percent of blacks view getting good grades as acting white, which is consistent with Ferguson's (2007) estimation of about 20 percent. Thus, while limitations in activation of cultural capital and early academic skills may be far more important in explaining the achievement gap, the issue of "acting white" may not be totally negligible, even if various components of OPCT fail. Harris' findings clearly suggest that a marginalized group need not become oppositional, but it is also important to account for the idea that some in the group *can*, for very rational reasons, given the inequities and discrimination they experience.

Harris' work is powerful because it not only exposes weaknesses in OPCT, but suggests that scholarship and policymaking would be fundamentally flawed if those weaknesses are ignored. Harris stresses the need for initiatives to reduce inequities in early grades, changes in how schools interpret black students' behaviors, greater equity in school resources, and improvement in the broader social and economic conditions of many black students. This book highlights the need for a fundamental shift in thinking about race and education. It is a must read for graduate students and scholars interested in schooling and stratification, as well as for policymakers and leaders committed to changes to eradicate the racial achievement gap.

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Managing Ethnic Diversity: Meanings and Practices from an International Perspective, edited by **Reza Hasmath.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011. 243 pp. $104.95 cloth. ISBN: 9781409411215.

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Ethnic diversity has become a frequently and hotly debated topic in recent years. For one reason, this seems to be due to the fact that all around the world, industrialized countries experienced higher levels of immigration than in the decades before. Secondly, even though ethnic diversity is ''old news'' for people living in settler societies such as the United States, Australia and Canada, the question of how to promote harmony between ethnically, racially, culturally, linguistically and religiously different groups is both theoretically and practically far from being answered yet.

By bringing together an international team of experts in migration and multiculturalism, *Managing Ethnic Diversity: Meanings and Practices from an International Perspective*, edited by Reza Hasmath, fosters a truly global dialogue. Whereas the focus of most comparative studies in the field is on North America, the Antipodes and Western Europe, this volume can claim credit not to lose sight of the fact that also Asian countries, such as China (Chapter Six) and Taiwan (Chapter Seven), are composed of ethnically diverse groups.

With its strong focus on tracing the historical emergence of multiculturalist practices and policies around the world, the volume keeps the promise of its subtitle. The entire book is quite coherent, especially when one takes into account that it is the result of an international collaboration. Contrary to the perspective of studies that are based on large-scale survey data, this book refrains from making a strong case for the importance of ideational support for multiculturalism among the general public. Rather, the emergence of multiculturalist practices is conceived here strictly from a top-down perspective. In doing so, the authors take into consideration the historical path-dependency of (anti-)multicultural practices. For example, it is argued that multiculturalist ideas have fallen on rather fertile ground in Canada, because ''[c]anadian ideas of liberty, equality and community, reflecting to a great extent the ideas of John Stuart Mill, have shaped a different approach to diversity, involving respect of, recognition of, and promotion of difference in the public sphere'' (p. 62). In contrast, multi-ethnic France, being in the political tradition of Jean Jacques Rosseau, is expected to struggle with the idea of celebrating difference, given that there is a much stronger emphasis on ''sameness'' (p. 63) in France than in Canada.

Similarly, Chapter Eleven comes up with an historical explanation for the anti-multiculturalist climate in Austria, a country that had levels of cultural diversity and labor immigration similar to those of Canada. Here, the authors claim that the ''tradition of strong assimilation pressures had successfully Austrianized a large portion of the non-German immigrants of the Habsburg Empire'' (p. 196). Furthermore, the same chapter shows that multiculturalist ideas can hardly flourish in authoritarian and hierarchical societies.

Despite the lack of a discussion on whether different practices of multiculturalism might not also be rooted in different arrangements of welfare and redistribution (people living in liberal welfare regimes, for example, might have to demonstrate much less solidarity with immigrants than those living in universalist welfare regimes), putting multiculturalist ideas in the context of historical peculiarities and more general political

traditions makes the reading of the volume inspiring for future comparative research. Indeed, the main focus on the historical and contemporary experiences and practices of multiculturalism in various countries is a great strength of the book. The coherence among the chapters is also reflected by the fact that the individual chapters ''speak to each other'' in that they frequently pick up each other's ideas, definitions and terms.

However, some of the chapters might have profited from a better organization. For example, most of the introductory parts of the chapters leave the reader unclear about the respective author's specific goals. In addition, an even more comprehensive picture could have been gained by adding a final concluding chapter to summarize the key results of the book and to highlight future challenges for multiculturalism. Finally, some of the ideas explained in the book could certainly have been explained in a more schematic way.

Despite these few shortcomings, this volume leaves us with a couple of important insights. Firstly, the book as a whole supports the notion that multiculturalism might be more about promoting equal rights (social justice) than about creating equal chances on the labor market (economic integration) among different ethnic groups.

The second take-home message of the book is related to the latter: often, it seems as if multiculturalism might be misused as a ''marketing strategy'' to cover more pressing problems resulting from unequal redistribution. Even in Canada, the multiculturalist country *par excellence*, the access to valued resources such as jobs and housing still seems to be found structured along the lines of color and ethnicity (cf., p.62). Indeed, the politically intended celebration of difference, as demonstrated in the case of South-Tyrol/Italy (Chapter 13), might even contribute to the manifestation of economic divides across different ethnic groups (see also Chapter Five). Hence, future studies in multiculturalism are advised not to lose sight of economic conflicts and underlying social class differences.

Third, multiculturalism should not be confused with the utopia of establishing a conflict-free multi-ethnic society. Rather, a more realistic picture of multiculturalism would include policies aimed at ensuring that intergroup conflicts ''do not destroy the society as a whole, and at the same time ensuring the protection and application of social justice to all parts of society'' (p. 177).

Fourth and finally, the book as a whole is of great value for large-scale survey data researchers, such as the author of this review. Despite the methodological progress in the field of survey research, the analysis of complex quantitative comparative data often leads to becoming blind to the specific history of the countries under study. In discussing the cultural and historical backgrounds of multicultural practices from ten different countries and in showing that and how multiculturalist practices and policies are embedded in more general political traditions, the volume provides important background information for researchers interested in cross-country research as well as for scholars in the field of political sociology.

She's Mad Real: Popular Culture and West Indian Girls in Brooklyn, by **Oneka LaBennett.** New York, NY: New York University Press, 2011. 240pp. $22.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814752487.

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In *She's Mad Real: Popular Culture and West Indian Girls in Brooklyn*, Oneka LaBennett offers a timely analysis of how West Indian and African American teenagers living in Brooklyn understand their identities in the context of popular culture. LaBennett presents thick description of many of Brooklyn's marquee destinations that these teenagers frequent, alongside extensive historical details of Brooklyn events that have shaped the identities of these destinations, such as the Crown Heights riots. The book is based on ten years of ethnographic fieldwork, including participant observation, interviews, conversation analysis, and focus groups in two key places: the YMCA, where LaBennett researched cheerleaders, and the Brooklyn Children's Museum (BCM) after-school program where teenagers worked as program leaders and received college

preparation. *She's Mad Real* takes a unique approach to studying immigrants and people of color by not focusing on adults, but rather teenaged girls, an understudied population. This book interprets many of the strategies used by these girls to negotiate their place within the various social spaces they occupy, such as home, the community, and the workplace. Play and work intersect throughout the book as these teenagers move across varying "youthscapes," a term borrowed from anthropologist Sunaina Maira.

LaBennett illustrates the depth of self-awareness that many of the teenaged girls develop through defining their West Indianness or African Americanness within larger cultural critiques of feminism, body awareness, hip hop culture, and television programming. The book concludes with the success stories of some of the girls and a discussion of the dual (West Indian and African American) identities created at the Brooklyn Children's Museum. Each chapter looks at how girls were able to adjust their identities in the face of the demands and influences of popular culture. For example, "Our Museum" uses an encounter at the movie theatre to outline how race permeates the community of Brooklyn Heights. Residents are shown to have a negative reaction to black teenagers occupying the white spaces of that neighborhood, including the Barnes and Noble bookstore. The author discusses how the teenage girls are careful not to draw attention to themselves in the bookstore because of the direct racial interrogation they may receive from security guards and other patrons, and how their behavior changes once inside the movie theatre that is considered a "black" space. The "African American consumer culture" of talking back to the movie screen during a show was an indication of how the girls in this study negotiated different racial spaces. The museum, where the majority of participant narratives came from, was situated as another "leisure culture" site. While the girls worked at BCM as leaders, their social interactions positioned them in the community as young black women. LaBennett describes the various challenges these girls have in getting parental permission for college programs linked to BCM programming. The author

writes that many West Indian mothers hold their daughters back from attending such educational activities because they are concerned about the girls leaving home for college or veering too far from the safety of the household (where boys cannot get them pregnant). I found this argument was lacking sociologically-attuned class and status analyses of these households. For generations, many West Indians, including women, have left their homelands to work and study abroad or do so to offer those opportunities to their children. Some historical content on West Indian migration patterns and push factors for various classes of migrants would have given this section more context.

LaBennett's analysis becomes intriguing as one participant, Joanna, dons a t-shirt on the sidewalk with the text "Head Bitch In Charge" and an image of three women from the waist down wearing provocative lingerie surrounding a man in tailored pants to perhaps indicate a pimp. In this section, LaBennett suggests that Joanna is asserting her identity as a strong woman, but LaBennett never once discusses the image in relation to pop culture. I was yearning for a discussion from the author about how this shirt is reframing the more commonly heard phrase "Head Nigga in Charge" (meaning the black man who is at the top of the hierarchy, socially or otherwise) for women, yet still displaying women as objects of male desire. I also wondered what Joanna's West Indian mother had to say about the shirt, especially in light of the discussion of mothers' concern about their daughters attracting too much attention from boys, which this t-shirt certainly did. Instead, this anecdote led into an analysis of how the young women working at BCM dealt with an incident at the museum regarding a harassment case. The same section dealt with the culture of cell phone use in the public school system and at BCM, along with an event that required the girl and boy leaders to create their own floats for a mock Mardi Gras parade. Both sections concluded that there was an assertion of West Indian culture by the West Indian girls and boys while they worked with African Americans. However, the supporting evidence for such assertions was weak and did little to contribute to the focus of this book—pop culture. There was no

analysis of the misogynistic dancehall music that was played on the cell phones during breaks until much later in the book, and there was not enough evidence to support the conclusion that ''black teens are influenced by racialized notions of cell phone usage'' (p. 94). Similarly, some of the political conclusions that LaBennett made did not have enough evidentiary support by the teens themselves.

The next two chapters discussed a hip hop concert that the teenagers attended along with the author, black beauty standards in terms of skin complexion, and the famed modeling show *America's Next Top Model*. These chapters determine that the teenage girls and boys think about body politics in complicated ways while also contradicting popular culture's social demands of consumption. Once again though, the author offers few instances where these conversations take place—one at a concert, one at the YMCA, and one in a focus group. LaBennett spent ten years in the field, yet only used isolated instances where such political conversations took place. The absence of support for many of the claims made in the book is striking given the years spent with these participants. Further support would have given this book a more robust set of conclusions. At the same time, the book delved deeply into many issues faced by young black teenagers and gave voice to a consistently understudied population. The author faced a great challenge in bringing all of the complex issues to the fore of academic analysis.

LaBennett has produced an ethnographic account of teenagers who face popular culture on a daily basis and internalize the messages that are meant to facilitate capitalist consumption. The study showed great potential, yet it fell short in several key areas. The author did, however, present a book that takes on issues that are timely and could be further investigated. Undergraduate students of family, women and gender studies, urban studies, and race will benefit from reading *She's Mad Real.*

The Ethics of Sightseeing, by **Dean MacCannell.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011. 271pp. $22.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520257832.

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The Ethics of Sightseeing is a flâneur's stroll. Focusing on the process of sightseeing rather than broadly surveying the tourism industry, Dean MacCannell tackles the issues of a trade notoriously dismissed for its questionable moral bearings. The author wants to address ''the responsibility we take, or do not take, for our sightseeing choices and our subjective assimilation of tourist experience'' (p. 6). The result is a readable, developed research memo.

There is a lot here for scholars of tourism, culture, and social psychology. The introduction prepares the reader for an integration of perspectives: Goffman, Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, and Durkheim are all mixed in—each of whom are familiar guideposts from MacCannell's earlier work. Part One explains how sightseeing is a part of every activity a tourist might be engaged in, but not vice versa (p. 42), and why ethics should be a central concern. Part Two is perhaps the most useful section, as it includes essays on the state of overlapping fields of research, the conundrums of ethics in sightseeing, and on the different stages of a trip (e.g., desire, intent, permission, departure, etc.). An appendix that could have been placed earlier in the book (the author admits reviewers recommended this but that he ignored them) proposes that tourism research is a moral science. Peppered throughout are 26 boxed sections not to be skimmed: they punctuate the text with lively musings, sharp responses to critics and reviewers, and pithy academic and autobiographical stories that illuminate a chapter's concepts without direct connection to the surrounding text. Collectively, *Ethics* is a more useful resource than the author's classic, *The Tourist* (1976).

A great research memo, however, does not make a great book and utility should not be our sole measure. MacCannell's preface includes numerous caveats (e.g., ''I don't

respond to comments along the lines of. . .," "Please note. . .," "Nor do I have the desire to. . ."), and humble feints (e.g., "I try to dispel the canard that I am the 'father of tourism research. . .'"), unnecessary for an estimable scholar. Furthermore, they are framings that ignore or distract from the book's real weaknesses. MacCannell states that any chapter can be read out of order or alone, leading to a cyclical style that may comfort some readers. The chapters in *Ethics* are more strongly connected than those in MacCannell's earlier *Empty Meeting Grounds* (1992), but this writing style means the author offers up and later reconstructs foundations of curious ideas (like the "Jerusalem," "Stendhal," and "Paris" syndromes) or moves on to digging new ones when he could have built skyscrapers with a little more sustained focus.

If *Ethics* is to be read as a stroll through a city of ideas and dilemmas, then it holds all the wonders and confusions of such a journey. As the reader moves through sections, they turn a corner and find a virtuoso building, the literary equivalent of Frank Gehry's Walt Disney Concert Hall. Ornate public sculptures punctuate the urban landscape, too: there are rather sharp turns of phrase, well-crafted moments, and dissertation-quote-ready aphorisms, like "We are all equal before the attraction," "Sightseeing is among the best ethical tests humans have devised for themselves," and "Tourism is the beta test version of emerging world culture." But this walk through MacCannell's city also includes moments wherein the reader stumbles upon what suspiciously looks like the same façade visited a few blocks ago (e.g., the same quote about tourism being the "best devised ethical test" sits 50 pages apart; Stendhal's "the gaze" is mentioned 24 times), or academic GAPs and Starbucks that make *Ethics* look like other book-cities on the topic (e.g., Bentham's panopticon, the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, and Celebration, Florida are well-covered ground by scholars covering similar ground, like Chris Rojek, David Harvey, John Urry, Michael Sorkin, and Mark Gottdiener). At some intersections, you notice out-of-place objects (e.g., uncomfortable non-sequiturs like an unnecessary snipe at George W. Bush), and at other points you feel lost (e.g., infrequent chapter conclusions, oscillations between descriptive and normative narratives, nice rhetorical "discussion" and "case study" sections that are only used in Chapters Six and Eleven respectively). Confusing signage does not help, with sections, for example, called "Ethics Is Beyond Morality" and "From Morality to Ethics" (separated by a short section called "Ethics and Pleasure") and helpful introductions to Parts Two and Three, but no orienting text for Parts One and Four. There are also half-completed districts in MacCannell's city (e.g., a "City and Country as Symbolic Constructs" section sets up a chapter on the "Urban Symbolic" but that chapter is followed by one on the more vague concept of "landscape" rather than the more provocative possibility of a "rural symbolic"), and a few cracks in the pavement (e.g., a reference to Walter Benjamin that fails to note that a famous clause within—"Every epoch dreams of the next. . ."—is Michelet's; misspelling the artist "Christo"). Many of these problems occur in Parts Three and Four of the book, much of which indicates that MacCannell is a wondrous architect and flâneur and less of an urban planner.

The end result is a lively, even raucous, discussion that alternates between invigorating and maddening, energizing and confounding. *Ethics* provides a vast survey of what "sightseeing" is, while also taking on very sticky concepts. The book should be commended for holding something for everyone, and for embodying the very dichotomies and struggles of its substantive content.

Power at the Roots: Gentrification, Community Gardens, and the Puerto Ricans of the Lower East Side, by **Miranda J. Martinez.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. 169pp. $60.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780739146248.

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Miranda J. Martinez's *Power at the Roots: Gentrification, Community Gardens, and the Puerto Ricans of the Lower East Side* provides a rich portrait of life on the ground in a gentrifying neighborhood. The book primarily focuses on the experiences of community

gardeners in Loisaida on the Lower East Side, many of them longtime residents of Puerto Rican origin who resist the displacement of "casita" and formally organized gardens in the face of advancing gentrification and revanchist city policies. The book will be of interest to students of community gardens, community organizing, urban politics, and especially gentrification. Moreover, the author's clear writing style and rich illustrations from her field observations make the book well suited for graduate and undergraduate courses.

Concern about the displacement of longtime residents motivates much of the gentrification literature. However, relatively few contemporary scholars present rich, ethnographic data on longtime residents' experience of gentrification and displacement. In this sense, Martinez's book—which captures both the words and actions of longtime resident community gardeners—is a welcome and refreshing addition to the literature. It is not just her attention to how long-timers experience gentrification on the ground that is novel; two dimensions of her analytic approach to data generated in pursuit of this question also deserve mention. First, the bulk of the literature's attention to displacement is oriented to the loss of housing, and Martinez's attention to efforts to preserve common, public space (i.e., gardens) offers richness and complexity to our understanding of precisely what longtime residents lose (and value) in the face of advancing gentrification. For instance, Martinez's account highlights the import of public space and its symbolic ownership for the cultivation and sustenance of cultural and social ties and traditions—particularly when such ties are strained by physical displacement and other gentrification-driven pressures. Second, Martinez resists presenting an overly-simplistic portrait of relations between gentrifiers and longtime residents. She acknowledges moments when they labor side-by-side—both in community gardens and in the fight to save them from shifting city policies and the gentrification that they promote—while simultaneously attending to conflicts that arise between the groups. For instance, she details an episode in which a gentrifier "weeded" an ill long-timer's plot, throwing her cherished (but, in his view, aesthetically displeasing) plants in the compost. In short, Martinez provides a welcome window into how some longtime residents think, feel, and behave in the face of looming gentrification.

In fact, the rich data Martinez presents left me wishing for more. In the introduction Martinez writes, "many accounts of gentrification are overly absolute in their portrayal of the social polarization at the local level" (p. 31). This, combined with several depictions of newcomer/old-timer interaction, raised this reader's hope that the book would devote greater analytic attention to this facet of her data. In my view, additional discussion of newcomer/old-timer interactions—or, if they were as sparse as they appear in the book, a more direct or sustained explanation thereof—would have enhanced the author's ability to build an argument about the nature and origins of newcomer/old-timer alliances and conflict. This minor criticism aside, Martinez joins the small chorus of contemporary scholars who model and call for sustained empirically-based analyses of newcomer/old-timer ties and interactions, and her book provides important clues about the varied spaces from which we might observe and analyze such interaction—gardens, community meetings, and neighborhood parades.

Martinez's field site—Loisaida on New York's Lower East Side—both enhances and restricts her ability to present claims about her findings' significance for other neighborhoods and cities. On the one hand, Martinez's rich portrait of garden life in Loisaida fills a gap in literature on the oft-studied neighborhood's gentrification, particularly given the fact that most of the literature on the Lower East Side's gentrification is not especially attentive to longtime residents nor, more generally, to informal social interaction. Furthermore, the neighborhood's advanced gentrification makes Martinez's findings about relations between new and old residents and about the persistence of community gardeners in the face of tremendous pressure from capital and government all the more powerful. However, the neighborhood's advanced gentrification *and* its relatively high proportion of public housing units raise questions about the lessons Loisaida offers for other neighborhoods and about the value of continually attending to

the gentrification of the Lower East Side. Second, likely by necessity, Martinez prioritizes engagement with the extensive literature on the gentrification of the Lower East Side. Perhaps as a result, she misses opportunities to engage with scholarship on resistance to gentrification and newcomer/old-timer relations conducted in other neighborhoods or cities. More direct engagement with this burgeoning literature might have forced Martinez to delineate her contribution more precisely to the gentrification literature.

Nonetheless, *Power at the Roots* is a valuable addition to the gentrification literature. Following scholars like Sharon Zukin and Neil Smith, Martinez paints a sophisticated and complex portrait of gentrification's increasingly defining role in cities such as New York. However, she deserves particular credit for demonstrating how, on the ground, as a result of gentrification's omnipotence, some social actors experience the process as simultaneously disruptive and violent, and as a basic or even ordinary facet of city life. Imagine for a moment gardeners on a summer day who take a break from lobbying the city and investors to spare their garden, to weed, plant, or harvest, and, in the process, manage to forget, if only for a short summer afternoon, the process directing the future of the very garden in which they labor. In such a moment, Martinez's observations reveal, it is not only gentrification that shapes conversation and contest, but also myriad other social, cultural, and political features of social life. In this sense, the book offers important lessons for gentrification scholars, but also provides a more general window into contemporary urban social worlds, while never letting us forget how gentrification informs the world of which Martinez writes. Given the book's simultaneous focus on gentrification and on a number of facets of daily life under its spell, I recommend the book not only to scholars of gentrification but also to students of cities, gardens, community politics, and symbolic interaction.

Enduring Violence: Ladina Women's Lives in Guatemala, by **Cecilia Menjívar.** Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011. 288pp. $24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780520267671.

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Social theorists from Karl Marx to Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant have worked to render the familiar strange, to problematize that which we take for granted. Cecilia Menjívar does this for the study of violence in Guatemala. But this is not the usual approach, for it focuses not on the causes and consequences of the internal conflict, in which 200,000 civilians were killed in 626 massacres and 50,000 people were "disappeared." Nor does she focus explicitly on the post-war crime waves sweeping through Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, which recently received the dubious distinction of being "the most violent region" on the planet due to escalating homicide rates in these countries.

Instead, Menjívar's study explores how violence shapes the lives of ordinary, poor women in eastern Guatemala, a region never at the epicenter of the armed conflict. Working in the tradition of critical anthropology and critical sociology, Menjívar develops an analytical framework of violence that guides us through a geography of marginalization. Her exploration exposes the quotidian brutalities of everyday life that arise less from intentional, interpersonal acts of violence, but instead stem from structural, ideological, and institutional sources. In this way, she opens up the study of poverty and inequality to examine these experiences as manifestations of violence.

According to Menjívar, the violence that women experience—whether hunger, social control, inadequate health care, social stigma, brutalizing jobs, or damaging gossip—is more of a process than an event. And violence is rarely experienced in isolation, but rather comes as part of a multifaceted package. This violence grows out of unequal political and economic structures, but is also fueled in a symbolic fashion. Menjívar documents the subtle ways that women

experience sexism, racism and class domination in the form of everyday humiliations. Worse, these insidious forms of violence are often exercised on women with their own complicity. At times they are even the agents of their own mistreatment.

Menjívar's framework on violence grew out of her fieldwork in eastern Guatemala, part of a comparative study of maternal and child health there. For approximately five years, she annually conducted in-depth interviews with 30 women in a town in eastern Guatemala. While these interviews are at the heart of the book, she systematically incorporates insights from the annual interviews she did with 28 women in the Altiplano, a highland region at the heart of Guatemala's internal conflict. Because of the nature of her research—longitudinal and in-depth interviews—her analysis provides deep insight into these women's lives. There is an intimacy to her writing that would not have been possible with many other research methods or a shorter time frame.

One of the numerous examples of Menjívar's intimate analysis comes from an interview with Delfina, who we learn is trapped in a torturous marriage with a man who regularly insults her in front of friends and family, throws food at her when it is not prepared to his taste, and often threatens to leave her for a younger woman. But somehow, Delfina feels fortunate. As she exclaims, "He's never touched me. Can you believe he's never hit me? Yes, I'm serious. It's true. You'd think, with his character, it could be awful. But he's not like the others who hit their wives" (p. 48).

Excerpts like these can be found throughout the chapters, which cover all aspects of women's lives, from marital unions, childbearing and motherhood, to work, socializing and religious devotion. Within each area, Menjívar excavates the violence that is visited on women, yet is unrecognized as such because it is part of what Bourdieu and Wacquant label the "order of things." Three examples from the book should bring this home. In explaining how gossip serves to regulate and control women, Menjívar describes how both Lucrecia and Teresa's partners stopped sending remittances to them as punishment for not maintaining a "decent social image." So in order to safeguard their reputations, other women basically stayed at home and lived in relative isolation. The implications of this were severe. To maintain high levels of "moral capital," many women sacrificed their social capital—the information, and moral and material support found in social networks.

Economic necessity did frequently drive women from their homes. In the relative absence of jobs that paid livable wages, many women were barely scraping by, selling street food, taking in people's laundry, or cleaning. These inconsistent, yet physically grueling jobs took their toll on women in various ways. As Hortencia explained, "I worry every day about not having enough money. When the *patojos* [children] tell me they're hungry and I don't have money, it rips my heart. So, no, being tired doesn't worry me; for me being tired means I have had work, and that's a blessing!" (p. 168).

As these women recounted, having adequate food, access to health care, and the ability to buy medicine was not something they considered part of their normal lives. What was normal—even ubiquitous—was hunger, illness, and death. Of the 30 women that Menjívar interviewed in San Alejo, six had experienced the death of a baby or small child and another four had lost babies through late-term miscarriages or stillbirth. Flor—who was a godparent of a perennially-ill baby—explained that since the baby's birth, she had been saving money for its coffin. In all of these examples, the women experienced their suffering as an everyday thing, a normal part of life.

Probably the greatest strength of this book is Menjívar's ability to render experiences of inequality as experiences of violence. The inductively-developed framework on violence has the potential to lead to a rethinking of the key conceptual features of social stratification. I would have liked to see more connections around Menjívar's contention that the micro-processes of suffering are linked to processes of political conflict, despotic governance and structural violence stemming from the neoliberal order. These links are more suggested than demonstrated in the text. Further, there are frequent references to the violence that neoliberalism visits on people's lives. But I wonder if Menjívar is applying a neoliberal framework to the

case of Guatemala that is a poor fit. Whereas in many, if not most, Latin American nations, neoliberalism cut government services and support, the only thing the Guatemalan state effectively developed in the contemporary era was a war machine. Thus there was little to cut. If anything, a prominent part of the internationally-brokered peace accords of the 1990s was the pressure for the Guatemalan state to start better funding health, education and other social programs.

This criticism aside, *Enduring Violence* makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of inequality. It will be a wonderful source for those interested in qualitative research methods, Latin America, and studies of violence.

Islands of Privacy, by **Christena Nippert-Eng.** Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010. 404pp. $22.50 paper. ISBN: 9780226586533.

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Christena Nippert-Eng has chosen an apt title for her work. *Islands of Privacy* focuses on the delimited social spaces where ordinary people seek to control information about themselves. She views privacy as an achievement—though defined very differently from person to person—and demonstrates the energetic agency her subjects muster in strategizing about it. The inevitable concomitant of her exposition is a look at the parties and forces, from neighbors and family to large institutions, that countervail against these efforts. Sometimes the islands that she describes sound like those vulnerable Pacific atolls whose very existence is threatened by climate change.

Islands of Privacy is a research report, based on interviews carried out with some seventy-four Chicago residents. The respondents, selected largely through the author's own acquaintance networks, were relatively well educated and affluent. They provided semi-structured interviews lasting between one-and-a-half and seventeen (!) hours, with most interviews lasting between eight and nine hours. As one might gather,

the formal questionnaire included in Appendix A was often just a jumping-off point for conversations that took their own directions.

Besides the introduction and conclusion, the book has four chapters: "Secrets and Secrecy," one on respondents' commentaries on the contents of their wallets and purses, one on their uses of cell phones and e-mail, and "Doorbells and Windows" (respondents' experience of privacy in their homes).

All this amounts to a very broad mandate. Writers on privacy widely note the variety of meanings attributed to the term. Often "privacy" indicates the ability to control the flow of information about one's self—as in efforts to keep to yourself the amount of your income or the details of your sexual habits. Elsewhere we use "privacy" to designate something more akin to what Goffman called "rights to civil inattention": our expectations that others will not publicly aver to matters like our weight, our national origins, or our dress. Still another sense of privacy has to do with the desire to restrict *images* of the self—in states of nudity, passion, or grief—that are understood to be *ipso facto* embarrassing or shameful, even when everyone understands that they exist.

Islands of Privacy addresses these and other interpretations of privacy as they are experienced by her respondents. The author lets them tell their own stories at length, willingly drawing them out to reveal something interesting. Chapter One, for example, spins out discursive statements from one interviewee who feels warranted in breaking confidentiality about supposedly secret information on family matters. Chapter Four discusses trash as a "public-private hybrid," conveying detailed accounts of respondents' willingness and unwillingness to consign potentially revealing items or information to their garbage.

The seven chapters come to some 325 pages. Nearly half of the text, this reviewer would judge, consists of verbatim accounts from respondents. Many of these are highly predictable. Respondents recount their techniques for dealing with nosy neighbors, or their personal strategies for disclosing or not disclosing salary information, or their strategies for creating private time or spaces in their busy lives. We read that dog ownership can be an effective strategy for

overcoming unwanted barriers of reserve among strangers. We learn that people fear identity theft (though often with only a vague understanding of how this happens), and that people direct their attention away from strangers with whom they do not want to engage. In the discussion of contents of wallets and purses, we read that "Pictures of very young children reinforce a new role as parent, aunt, uncle, grandparent, or godparent" (pp. 149–59). Yes, yes, and yes.

Rarely do we gasp at startling revelations. Here and there, one does encounter a new angle on familiar social situations, as in the account from a black respondent who grew up under Jim Crow, describing that experience as tantamount to a constant invasion of one's privacy by whites. But often we feel that we have been here before, that people's interpretations of privacy interests and strategies recounted at such length here are hardly unfamiliar.

This is a work that sticks very close to its own discursive, textual data. The analysis mostly takes the form of commentary on one or a few of the respondents' reports at a time. More encompassing generalizations—for example, on broad trends of change in the experience or practice of privacy throughout populations—are scarce here.

Perhaps that strategy is wise, given the nature of the sample and the diversity of the issues and processes encompassed in the "islands" that Nippert-Eng explores. One thinks of Alasdair MacIntyre's spoof on the quest for "a general theory of holes"—his swipe on scientist researchers' efforts to pinpoint some sort of master cause of civil violence. We can be thankful that Nippert-Eng has spared us a general theory of privacy, given the extreme heterogeneity of phenomena that get bracketed under that encompassing term. The result, however, is a work whose analytical conclusions beyond the cases she so closely describes are hard to discern.

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Debra Osnowitz's primary goal in this innovative and convincing book is to describe the labor market experiences and strategies of contract professionals. Contractors are detached from formal, bureaucratic employment relations in organizations; consequently, they face a host of issues different from those of traditional employees. Drawing mainly on 68 in-depth interviews with contractors (as well as several supplementary interviews, some participant observation, and online data collection), Osnowitz investigates how these professionals navigate three central tensions: between autonomy and constraint, predictability and flexibility, and security and risk. She highlights the interactive dimensions of their strategies, as well as their (generally favorable) interpretations of their own employment situations relative to those of traditional employees.

Osnowitz focuses on contractors in two occupations: freelance writing and editing, and computer programming and engineering. Rather than compare these occupations in terms of their differences, or discuss the specifics of work in these fields, Osnowitz analyzes their similarities, highlighting "common elements that define this alternative system of employment" (p. 21). At the same time, Osnowitz compares contractors and formal employees (although she does not have original data on formal employment). In my view, this comparison is crucial, because it illuminates the specificity of contract work, which is the real focus of the project. These differences include the following: contract professionals have clients, not employers; they receive hourly payment or fixed project fees, not salaries; and they must regularly seek new clients, rather than rely on permanent employment.

Separated from conventional labor market and firm structures, therefore, contractors must make themselves responsible for all

elements of their employment. The central contribution of Osnowitz's book is its detailed discussion in several chapters of how they do this, through performative and interactive strategies of self-presentation. First, in seeking work, contractors must present themselves to potential clients as trustworthy experts, demonstrating their own abilities while obscuring any limits to their knowledge. They must also spend large amounts of energy cultivating networks of people—fellow contractors, former employers, recruiters, and staffing agencies—who might be able to help them get work. They must preserve and enhance their own reputations through networking, which also becomes a kind of performance of expertise, and through making well-considered referrals.

Once on the job, they must manage relationships with clients. This process includes setting limits, shaping client expectations, and ensuring client accountability. Those contractors who work on-site have to negotiate their marginality with regard to the firm and to their co-workers. Even as they work, they also need to think of the future, strategizing about how to get clients while trying not to have too many at once. To do this, contractors need to maintain and expand expertise, which clients will not invest in (as employers typically do for employees). Essentially, Osnowitz is describing a relentless need for impression management, including a need to control oneself and others, which develops when these relations lack the support that formal employment bureaucracy used to provide.

Despite these challenges, in Osnowitz's account, contractors mostly frame their position as advantageous. They emphasize their freedom from formal organizational responsibilities and office politics and the fact that they get paid for all the time they work. They appreciate flexible hours, their ability (in many cases) to work from home, and the possibility of combining work and family duties. Many also describe bad experiences with traditional jobs, which had often proved to be insecure. Thus contractors tend to see themselves as privileged and even liberated relative to standard employees.

Consistent with this stance, Osnowitz's informants are very concerned with *professionalism*, but less so with formal *professionalization*. They are not interested in contracts, professional organizations, collective action, or establishing official standards that would "codify occupational norms" (p. 189)—partly because these are associated with formal employment, and partly because, Osnowitz argues, formal standards connote a *lack* of expertise. The author herself does see professional association as a possible source of support for contractors, although she is not clear, in my view, about whether occupationally-based organizations would include contractors alone or also professionals in similar fields who do have permanent employment.

Throughout the book, Osnowitz usefully attends to differences in contractors' experiences, such as charging by the hour or by the project, or working on-site or from home. At the end of the book, she also compares the contractors she is studying to other temporary or contingent workers with less labor market power, including clerical and industrial workers and adjunct faculty. These are helpful distinctions that illuminate the multiple possible work arrangements in what often appears in the literature as an undifferentiated field. I would have liked to see her go a bit further, possibly developing a typology of contract arrangements to include elements such as wages, status, mobility, occupational community, and so on.

I also think that Osnowitz is too sanguine about the prospects for skilled contractors. She describes some of the problems that arise in this situation, including unpredictability, exclusion from employment law, lack of protection from default by clients, the absence of benefits, and the difficulty of collective action. Yet in terms of the specific risks of contracting, she recounts few stories of people being out of work for long periods of time or suffering in other ways because of the volatility of their employment. It seems possible that Osnowitz may be taking the informants' desire to justify their occupational status too much at face value, rather than asking if there is a hidden side to their positive depictions.

More generally, she sees promise in these arrangements for reconfiguring employment relations to be more flexible in ways that benefit workers and avoid stigmas associated

with contract work. And certainly the indictment of standard employment offered by her informants is convincing, echoing much research establishing the degradation of standard employment relations. Yet I think that substantiating the claim that these professional contractors provide a possible model for contemporary employment relations would require a much more developed discussion of the necessary institutional underpinnings of that system, as well as the prospects for workers with more limited credentials or skills.

Freelancing Expertise is a well-written, solidly researched, and original account of the characteristics of the external labor markets that contractors face and their psychological and interactive strategies for navigating them. This book makes a significant contribution to the study of contract labor and will be of interest to scholars of labor markets specifically and the "new economy" more broadly.

Against Epistemic Apartheid: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Disciplinary Decadence of Sociology, by **Reiland Rabaka.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. 424pp. $41.99 paper. ISBN: 9780739145982.

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Often remembered as an activist and historian, W.E.B. Du Bois' sociological work has been underplayed. While familiar with the work of early white sociologists like Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Franklin Giddings, William Sumner, and Jane Addams, practitioners of the study of society are less familiar with the contributions of early African American sociologists like W.E.B. Du Bois, George Haynes, Richard Wright, Jr., Monroe Work, and Ida B. Wells. Referencing *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Reiland Rabaka argues in *Against Epistemic Apartheid* that "separate but equal" also extended to the academy. The term, epistemic apartheid, describes the ongoing neglect and marginalization of Du Bois' contributions to the field by demonstrating how knowledge is often quarantined by race, gender, and class.

This book is well written and draws heavily from primary sources. Recognizing that Du Bois' interdisciplinary approach to the study of society was first introduced at a time when sociology's academic boundaries were being established and canonized, Rabaka argues that Du Bois' social studies are transdisciplinary. Yet, it is the transdisciplinary nature of Du Bois' discourse that has contributed to his sociological negation. Epistemic apartheid calls attention to sociology's use of boundary maintenance mechanisms to define what constitutes "real" sociology. Even though Rabaka maintains that many of Du Bois' writings transcend sociology, Du Bois nevertheless made important contributions to the discipline. Six areas are highlighted.

The first area is rural and urban studies. Although the Chicago School's reputation is grounded in its focus on neighborhood and small area studies, Du Bois conducted numerous empirical small area social studies between 1898 and 1906. While readers will recognize Du Bois' familiarity with William James' pragmatism, Schmoller's concern with the empirical study of "what is", and Booth and Addams' use of triangular methodologies in these studies, Du Bois incorporated these insights into his massive program for the scientific study of the social problems impacting the African American community. Routinely integrating census, survey, and ethnographic data in his small area social studies, Du Bois institutionalized methodological triangulation and provided an early empirical, inductive framework for doing sociology when other practitioners were relying on more theoretical, deductive approaches.

Introducing such concepts as "the Veil," "the color line," and "double consciousness," Du Bois attacked "social Darwinism" and "white supremacist thought" by demonstrating how race is socially constructed and maintained. Du Bois went on to address the global exploitation associated with white colonialism and the white community's use of prejudice and discrimination to deny equal rights to people of color. While some whites questioned the "souls of black folk," Du Bois questioned "the souls of white folk."

Du Bois also made significant contributions to gender studies. In *Darkwater* (1920),

Du Bois commented that the three great issues facing the twentieth century were the color line, the quest for global peace, and the status of women. Aware of the leadership role that the Women's Club Movement and the National Association of Colored Women played in addressing social uplift within the African American community, Du Bois argued that African American motherhood was to be respected but so was a woman's right to vote and hold office. Du Bois went on to argue that African American women and women of color globally faced multiple forms of oppression, namely racism, sexism, and classism. In many respects Du Bois anticipated later discussions of ethgender.

Turning to religion, Du Bois was a pioneering figure in the sociology of religion. *The Negro Church* (1903) is the first empirically-based sociological study of a religious group, and in *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), a functional analysis of the black church was provided. Du Bois often portrayed the black church as the center of African American life, a catalyst for change, and an agent of moral integration, and ministers were expected to play a key leadership role within the community. However, Du Bois was very critical of the black church and ministers, as social uplift and critical leadership too often were not provided. Anticipating the major tenets of black theology and liberation theology, Du Bois' perspective on religion might best be described as one of "divine discontent."

The racial basis of educational inequality in the United States was a topic that deeply concerned Du Bois. Addressing the potential for miseducation and cultural degradation, Du Bois argued that the legacy of slavery and the contributions ("gifts") of African culture to global civilization must be understood and appreciated. Du Bois was aware that educational models and pedagogy may be culture bound and that certain curriculum paths could be utilized to promote tracking and further generate inequality.

Rabaka finally reminds the reader that Du Bois' contributions to the study of crime, deviance, and criminal justice were substantial. Arguing that justice was administered along the color line, Du Bois knew that differences in arrest rates and sentencing distorted crime statistics. His 1904 Atlanta Conference report on crime in Georgia included an early crime poll, and he maintained that African Americans were given harsher sentences as a way of meeting a demand for convict labor. Thus were prisons designed to generate profit or rehabilitate offenders? Du Bois also linked crime and social disorganization, thus anticipating the work of Shaw and McKay by almost four decades.

Providing a comprehensive overview of Du Bois' extensive social discourse, Rabaka's *Against Epistemic Apartheid*, makes a significant contribution to the history of sociology, critical race theory, and Africana studies. Du Bois was a sociological pioneer, but, as a transdisciplinarian, multiple venues were utilized to call the public's attention to the legacy of racial inequality in the United States and the plight of oppressed populations globally.

Appropriately Indian: Gender and Culture in a New Transnational Class, by **Smitha Radhakrishnan.** Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 239pp. $22.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822348702.

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While the world may not be altogether flat, the global ventures of Western capital during the late twentieth century have surely left their mark on the contours of the social and economic landscape, both at home and abroad. With the liberalization of the Indian economy in recent decades, the Indian labor force—the information technology (IT) sector in particular—has experienced first-hand the opportunities afforded by multinational businesses. In her book, *Appropriately Indian*, Smitha Radhakrishnan explores the emergence of an Indian transnational class, the product of such global economic relations.

Radhakrishnan focuses on IT professionals who are culturally located at the juncture of global and local practices. She investigates the practices, beliefs, and attitudes of this new transnational class through in-depth interviews and ethnographic research conducted in Mumbai, Bangalore, Silicon Valley, and Sout Africa. The author finds

that the unique position of IT professionals leads to conceptualizations of identities that bridge Indian and Western cultural norms. IT professionals navigate these different terrains through "cultural streamlining," a process through which *appropriate* difference is produced through everyday lived experience in the public and private domains. While the blending of Indian cultural norms with broadly Western values may not be an altogether novel phenomenon among postcolonial Indian elites, it is indeed the case that this new generation faces a world vastly different in its structural organization and operation. For instance, the labor market, especially for IT professionals, is much more fluid, with employment opportunities arising both at home and abroad, making such professionals more properly a mobile, transnational class. Even when not fully geographically mobile, IT professionals are certainly more embedded in the virtual global business world than in times past. As a point of clarification, it is important to make the distinction here between the positions of the highly educated, privileged professionals examined in this book and the workers employed in the business processing outsourcing (BPO) industry (e.g., call center or transcription workers) who do not share similar global opportunities.

Information technology is the field on which many Indian hopes have been pinned, both individual and national. According to the (Indian) National Association of Software and Service Companies (NASSCOM), "the [information technology] industry has played a significant role in transforming India's image from a slow moving bureaucratic economy to a land of innovative entrepreneurs and a global player in providing world class technology solutions and business services" (http://www.ibef.org/indus try/informationtechnology.aspx). It is not inapt, then, that Smitha Radhakrishnan would turn her attention to this group which occupies a privileged social and economic position in the global economy.

So, who are these transnational professionals? Radhakrishnan finds that, while they might characterize themselves as being middle class, most of her respondents come from fairly privileged socioeconomic backgrounds. They look upon themselves as individuals who have successfully earned their positions in the merit-based private sector of the Indian labor market, which is structurally different from the public sector that had so thoroughly dominated the Indian labor market until quite recently. In this way, they are constructing their identities as being somewhat distinct from others who are still part of the old India, the India that might be seen as hierarchical, parochial, and corrupt. Radhakrishnan shows that the accounts of her respondents suggest the construction of *appropriately* Indian subjectivities—still culturally Indian, but also participants in a global environment that privileges efficiency, individual growth, and professionalism.

The author finds, not surprisingly, that much of the responsibility of doing the symbolic work of maintaining Indian cultural practices falls upon women. While the IT industry opens similar professional doors for both women and men, women must navigate their obligations in the public and private spheres as the upholders of "good" families. This is a loaded term under any circumstances, but particularly so in the context of women's position in this transnational class. Women IT professionals benefit from the freedoms associated with exposure to global work opportunities, practices and values, but face the challenge of adopting these freedoms only in appropriate amounts. What constitutes an appropriate amount is, as Radhakrishnan's respondents reveal, the amount that does not interfere with the time, effort, and work it takes to maintain traditional family ties, which they believe constitute Indian identities.

In the negotiation of transnational Indian identities, Radhakrishnan finds that the idea of "good" families is a readily transportable one, and it comes to define "Indians" in different cultural contexts. Religion— primarily, Hinduism—is another common thread among members of this transnational class, especially among South African Indians.

Smitha Radhakrishnan gives us a textured account of members of a new transnational class represented by India's skilled knowledge professionals who have indeed played a leading role in the global IT industry. Her wide-ranging interviews reveal the ways in

which they craft their identities by bridging Indian cultural practices with Western work practices and values. While the author's point is well taken regarding the unique structural opportunities experienced by these IT professionals (and other Indian professionals employed by multinational companies, for that matter), I wonder if their negotiation of Indian and more modern, Western identities is not too different from that experienced by their social class peers employed in Indian private or even public sector companies. For instance, women employed in the latter labor market sectors might face some of the same opportunities and concerns as do the IT professionals. Modernity has always co-existed with traditional practices in postcolonial India, as Radhakrishnan also notes, and the privileged classes have adopted different iterations of appropriately Indian identities. Again, this does not deter from the author's contributions, but perhaps merits consideration. It also seems that IT professionals working in India and the United States make for a better comparison group than those in South Africa. While some of the same processes of identity construction are at play among South African Indian IT professionals, the modal South African Indian is many more generations removed from India than the others studied.

Overall, I find this book to be timely, engaging, and a valuable insight into a group that belongs to a growing class of transnational professionals.

Terrifying Muslims: Race and Labor in the South Asian Diaspora, by **Junaid Rana.** Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. 229pp. $23.95 paper. ISBN: 9780822349112.

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In the past decade, scholars and policy-makers have spilt much ink discussing whether "Islamophobia," or discrimination against those who "look Muslim" is, strictly speaking, racism. Many believe that Islamophobia is limited to religious bigotry, and as Muslims come from many different heritages, racism therefore is not the best framework for understanding anti-Muslim prejudice. This debate is not at the center of Junaid Rana's new study, but his impressive contribution leads us to the unavoidable conclusion that the social construction of race is very much at the heart of Islamophobia. Rana, an assistant professor of Asian American studies at the University of Illinois, has crafted a study of vast scope. The book ranges from immigration policy to colonial history coupled with a cutting-edge theoretical approach. Even with the density of his argument, Rana maintains a careful focus on the implications of Islamophobia as it impacts the everyday experiences of people in the South Asian diaspora. In addition to providing an insightful look at systems of migrant labor in an increasingly globalized world, *Terrifying Muslims* makes the most sophisticated intervention to the understanding of Islamophobia to date.

Rana's study adds to the understanding of Islamophobia by interweaving the theoretical and the empirical. He puts the linkages between xenophobia, nationalism, race, gender, Islamophobia, and the coercive power of the contemporary state on full display. Empirical data comes from some one hundred interviews in Urdu, Punjabi, and English, and ethnographic fieldwork that Rana carried out between 1998 and 2008. He spoke with laborers, migrants, and state officials in multiple locations, focusing most centrally on Lahore and New York City, with visits to Dubai and other locations illuminating the discussion. This innovative and extensive on-the-ground work is coupled with a theoretical approach informed by—among other bodies of literature—feminism, critical race theory, racial formation theory, and theories of globalization. Rana seamlessly interrogates these perspectives with his empirical findings to produce a cohesive disambiguation of the racialized production of the laborer in late-capitalist societies.

The oft-discussed link between race and Islamophobia is clear from very early on in the book. Rana's understanding of Islamophobia comes mostly from racial formation theory, which relies on a Gramscian analysis of power and hegemony: the state codifies racial categories in response to historical and social conceptions of race, and shifts

alongside cultural understandings of race through the crafting of policies and practices which recursively reinforce those racial understandings. In so doing, the state effectively reifies race, imbuing the social construction with power that impacts the lives of individuals. Rana describes Islamophobia from this perspective, and he provides examples of "racial techniques in the state's use of the rhetoric of terror," like the alert issued by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on December 29, 2002 (p. 57). The FBI warned of a looming terrorist plot that would target New Year's festivities in the United States. The FBI press release included photographs of five suspected terrorists with a caption that stated the wanted men were "of Middle Eastern descent" (p. 58). In what he describes as the state's use of "panics and perils" (p. 57), Rana sees "a system of signs and symbols that were readily interpreted into a racialized figure, conjuring notions of illegal border crossing and terrorist radicalism" (p. 58). Rana notes the intriguing expansion of the "Middle East" to include Pakistan, and the slipshod application of the label in a terrorism alert with no solid evidence of any terrorism connection at all. As absurd as this case was, and as quickly as it unraveled, Rana shows that the overall impact of the FBI's actions in cases like these is profound. Giving additional examples that establish the pattern, Rana shows that the rhetoric of panic and peril contributes to:

> the process of racialization… and policing based in older histories of racism. In this moment, "the Muslim" emerged as a category of race that was policed through narratives of migration, diaspora, criminality, and terror. Arabs from Saudi Arabia and Yemen were suddenly linked to people from Pakistan and Afghanistan through a broadly defined notion of the Middle East; these same people were tied to Filipinos, Indonesians, and others who encompass the larger Muslim world. (p. 66)

Even more troubling is Rana's recognition that this racialization is not localized to the United States, but rather it is part of a longstanding "global racial system." This type of racialized panic has been pandemic and longstanding, relying on rhetoric of "sleeper cells" and other nefarious, shadowy threats from abroad that lurk around every corner. The specter of danger from immigrants has a very long history, and one that is perennially amplified as immigrants interact with local labor markets.

The fascinating question of "illegality" for migrants animates much of Rana's interviews with working-class Pakistanis as they prepare to depart from Lahore, and as they make sense of their lives in New York City. Rana finds that the concept of illegality serves as part of a tight regulation of the entire lived existence of migrants. The system of regulation uses race and labor in such a way that American notions of race impact these migrants even before they depart from their home country.

> Even before they leave Pakistan, labor migrants are often represented in relation to trafficking in humans, drugs, and terror. They carry this imagined representation with them as they stream into the Middle East, where they are rendered as subjects of exploitation, and to Europe and America, where they are seen as dangerous and threatening Muslims. (p. 140)

Rana uncovers evidence of a gray market in privatized labor recruiting, with many workers trafficked around the globe under the tacit (and corrupt) approval of government officials (p. 144). Despite these challenging conditions and differences in language and culture, stigmatized migrant laborers come together in expressions of solidarity and demands for better conditions within the global racial system. While he was in Lahore in May 2001, Rana watched as "some 1,000 Indian and Pakistani workers took to the streets of Dubai to demand payment of back wages" (p. 146). Withholding wages was a favorite tactic for employers looking to improve their profit margins. In protesting, Rana notes that these workers risked not only their jobs but also imprisonment. They quickly managed to get two months' worth of back wages paid, and showed how "workers around the world have crafted strategies and tactics to struggle

against exploitation'' (p. 148). Rana highlights the agency of these workers, while placing their actions into the context of racialization and exploitation.

Taking the book as a whole, and comparing it to similar studies from recent years, *Terrifying Muslims* stands out in a crowded field. This is one of very few books to make consistently the point that the problem of Islamophobia is not new. The processes at work here are not ''post-9/11,'' even though the events of that day changed a great many things. Instead, these are processes that have been in place for decades. Rana contextualizes the implications of his study from multiple angles. He cites Supreme Court cases from the early 1900s such as *Dow v. Thind* (p. 44), he considers the normalization of state violence and torture in the treatment of migrant laborers dating back centuries, and he explains the connection between these old patterns and the innovations of the post-9/11 ''War on Terror.'' By illuminating these processes, he goes far beyond contributing to the scholarly debate about whether Islamophobia is racism. Rana succeeds admirably in his goal to place ''working-class migration in the foreground of the global racial system… to expose how labor migrants are made illegal… and the connection to the reign of racial terror and violence that is at the heart of the imperial War on Terror'' (p. 178). This book will no doubt prove critically important to anyone interested in race, labor, immigration, or Islamophobia.

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Hyacinthe Ravet teaches sociology in a program combining music and musicology at L'université Paris-Sorbonne, and is also a clarinet player. This might account for the strategically crucial place she gives to clarinetists in *Musiciennes*, her deeply researched study of women in music, which goes beneath the contemporary issues it analyzes so skillfully to execute a deep analysis of the way the genders distribute themselves and are distributed by others through the positions available in the active, always changing world of the professional musical arts in France (particularly but not only Paris). The clarinet, it turns out, perfectly embodies all the issues involved in these changes.

At first, the book seems like a standard exercise in assessing how well women have overcome the prejudices and institutional blockages that have prevented them from getting the jobs, salaries and recognition which men of similar ability get. These obstacles have been substantial and not easily overcome, even when (as happened in a widely-reported incident) a conductor as powerful as Herbert von Karajan decides to hire women over the objections of his orchestra's members. (They stopped him, for a while.) Ravet mobilizes numerical data from government reports and academic investigations to show that women in fact are systematically underrepresented, in every way that counts, in the easily measured world of professional orchestral music, both *orchestres lyrique*—opera, ballet and symphony orchestras—and *orchestres militaires*, which includes bands reporting to the *ministre de la defense* (the armed services) and those reporting to the *ministre de l'interieur* (police bands of various kinds). These ensembles, offering permanent jobs and steady salaries, hire more men than women and give the prized first chair and soloist jobs to men more often than to women. The world of popular music, less systematically covered by detailed research on whole populations, and in which the organizations are less well established, gets less attention, though Ravet offers some compelling ideas based on the intensive, fieldwork-based studies of Marie Buscatto (2007) on women in the world of jazz (they work mostly as vocalists) and Marc Perrenoud (2007) on *les musicos*, the ''ordinary musicians'' who make themselves available to play whatever kind of work presents itself. Women play almost no part in this world, not because musicians are misognyists (they are not, and recognize talent when they hear it) but because the culture of the trade and especially its routine hiring practices, rooted in the

world of men, make no allowance for the somewhat different circumstances of women's lives, especially the contingencies associated with marriage and parenting.

She shows that women have always played a part in French musical life, but mainly in restricted roles: as organists, pianists, teachers, composers, and eventually in orchestral string sections, mostly as violinists and then violists, but seldom as cellists and almost never as double bassists. Almost never, either, as first chair players or soloists. With an odd exception: the harp has been largely a woman's instrument, in stereotype and fact, for a very long time.

That seems odd in the context of her analysis of the sex of instruments. Because musicians and laypeople share stereotypes about which instruments "go with" femininity and which ones "require" a masculine player, the stereotypes justified by referring to the physical attributes thought necessary to be able to play the instrument correctly, the big bulky harp, which has to be delivered to the performance site, might make a male player seem more suitable. Common beliefs do not assume that string instruments require more strength than women have, but do insist that wind instrument players need more breath, more stamina, more ability to play loud than women have, especially but not only the brass instruments (trumpets, trombones and tuba). Somehow the bulky harp escaped such definitions.

Woodwinds, stereotypically, seem somewhat less difficult. Stereotyped imagery accepts flutes as playable by women but not oboes and bassoons. The clarinet took a long time to be acceptable and not everyone thinks it is. Then, too, wind instruments accumulate (excuse my bluntness!) spit which has to be emptied (an unladylike activity) and Ravet remarks on the somewhat racy possibilities inherent in the clarinet being placed directly in the player's mouth. Is that a way for a lady to behave?

In addition, male players often argue that female colleagues will want to take maternity leave, and worry about the consequences of that for orchestral unity and quality (ignoring the similar problems occasioned by the not uncommon absence of male players who become seriously ill), though they have no

such worries about women in the strings becoming pregnant.

Players argue these points when they can, and so do some parents and schoolteachers, who refuse to let young women take up wind instruments in school. But the myths do die, at the hands of determined young women who insist on playing the forbidden instruments, very often with the strong support of parents (especially mothers) who are themselves serious, sometimes professional, musicians. Some of these teenagers subsequently win scholarships and prizes, and acquire reputations as good, dependable orchestral players, the equal of men. The introduction of the "blind audition," in which candidates for orchestral jobs play behind a screen so that hiring committees, usually containing a number of orchestra members, cannot see what gender the player is, gave a final blow to the total male domination of some classes of orchestral jobs. As do international comparisons, which show that gender equality is far more advanced in the United Kingdom and the United States than in France and elsewhere in Europe, though the capabilities of populations in the two countries cannot be seriously taken to explain such differences.

Ravet never forgets that the music business is still not, in any of its branches free of gender discrimination (the worst offenders are in such branches of the popular music business as rap, techno, etc.). But her careful and imaginative research shows us how change happens, and it probably makes a good model, as she here and there suggests, for other areas of social life.

Briefly, organizations change incrementally and changes in one group of them influence changes elsewhere, the feedback from those changes making still other changes possible. When music courses and schools become more open to female students, the boys grow up knowing that girls play as well as they do. When mothers who have played professionally encourage their daughters to ignore those who tell them they cannot do it, and supervise their practicing to make sure that they do, those girls ignore opinions to the contrary and pursue career possibilities others have discouraged them from following. They acquire experience the same way the boys do, and

thus become eligible for more and better positions. Musical organizations more influenced by political currents (municipal and military bands) accept women in a way that soon becomes routine. Their example makes it harder for *orchestres lyriques* to justify ignoring capable, talented female applicants. The spectacle of the ''pioneers'' (*pionniers*), the first to break a gender barrier, giving way to the ''unobtrusive'' (*discrètes*) who in turn are replaced by the ''equals'' (*paritaires*), each wave profiting from the presence of the earlier one(s), illustrated in detail in the story of the integration of clarinet playing in classical orchestras, and models the general process her study illustrates.

Something like this. A (standing for some part of a complex of social groups and networks, such as families, schools, employers, colleagues, etc.) changes in some way we are interested in. Its changes change the conditions of existence for B (another part of the complex) and those two changes change those conditions for C . . . N, changes in the later elements influencing the conditions of existence for the earlier ones, as the people whose activities make up all of them try to get done what they are doing and want to do under the conditions in which they find themselves.

Not a complicated model. The hard part is filling in the blanks the model gives us with real information on what goes on in that part of the social world. Ravet's book shows us how to do it: how to search out relevant numerical data, how to put your own experience to work when it is relevant, how to use and how to bring historical materials to bear. Knowing, as Ravet does, what has gone on in each of these places, as well as that can be determined, gives you a good sociological result. Ravet sets a high standard. It would be good if more of our work lived up to it.

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Impure Play: Sacredness, Transgression, and the Tragic in Popular Culture, by **Alexander Riley.** Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010. 185pp. $60.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780739129319.

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Writing from the margins, yet presenting a strong thesis regarding the profundity of popular culture meanings, Alexander Riley offers us a strong analysis of play in its variegated mediated forms. The work is lucid, compact, insightful, provocative, and irritating. All to the good, Riley shows us how our assumptive approach to play has undermined our ability to comprehend the full implications of play not so much for the ''serious'' aspects of contemporary life which he pretty much evades, but for the significance of playfulness itself in our meaning world. Images of scandal, degradation, derision, aggression, violence, death, and even cultural downfall are all scrutinized as impure play forms of consequence in Riley's engrossing book.

Readable by undergraduates but packing sufficient interpretive depth to stimulate the advanced scholar, *Impure Play* covers an enormous range of current and prefigurative provocations. Just as this work focuses on the meaning-making activities of major cultural if frequently despicable social actors, the work itself offers tools for interpretive analysis of the cultural landscape of great relevance to an engaged sociology. Drawing upon rich traditions of theoretical discourse, Riley employs classical concepts in novel applications to dissect, if not deconstruct cultural structures, events, activities, processes, and personalities of relevance to contemporary audiences.

While binding contemporary mediated play and gaming to the most mundane media-framed tragedies of current concern, Riley is able to sustain a tone that would attract students, and amuse, even enlighten professors. Finding the relevance of sociological applications to topics such as gangsta rap, sports scandals, video gaming, and media death rituals, refreshes us, enlivens

our conversations, and adds clarity to otherwise narrow anecdote and gossip that fill our common entertainment discourses.

Turning conventional virtue on its head, Riley argues (for the benefit of analyzing) that what was deemed bad for us is becoming good, or at least worthy of attention. "The sleeper awakes" and finds that dark chocolate, red wine, coffee, eggs, even bread are good for us (not to mention sex). We see that vitamins, milk, and fruits may not be so great for us. Can kitsch culture replace great literature as sources for intellectual elevation? Riley does not so much evaluate the relative merits of forms of mediated play as use them for an entrée into the consciousness of contemporary being. As sociologists, we need to take play seriously, Riley urges, not so much for what it is not—a release from work and obligation—but for what it is: a journey into the meaningful emotional texture of being in the world.

Examining play as infused with a significance approaching the sacred, liminoid locus of actuality, Riley never seems to lose his own playfulness, and personal bemusement in the topic. As a work on entertainment meanings, this is a rare sociological species, an entertaining book, cogently written, amiable . . .and unnerving. His early discussion of Benjamin Franklin sets a tone of "c'mon folks, let's get real." In his autobiography, Franklin insisted on his moderate eating pattern, his moral virtue, and temperate lifestyle, yet he seemed to enjoy the delights of Paris as attested to by his girth, his flirtations, and the utter vivacity of his charm at court. But Riley's is not a light book even if lighthearted in many ways. It is an effort to take that which is deemed to be light, and cast it in terms of the power and mystery that will garner the kind of scholarship it deserves. Play is serious business for him, a window into the depths of inner cultural life where we can be real and full to ourselves, but where we seek to hide our impure persona from others under the veneer of "just play."

To engage in impure play, for Riley, is something more than to be lightly entertained by the transgression of others in scandalous activity. It is for us to gain a sense of the vibrancy of existence by engaging with transgression through our avatars. Certainly there is safety for us in the treachery and degradations of media icons, but we also gain a sense of our full humanity by playing with these images delightfully and secretly, if we must.

Riley writes of "ex-stasis" as the culmination of the experience of authentic play, just as one would write about ecstasy as the outcome of religious ritual. Yet most of his discussion focuses not so much on reaching upward, but through an apprehension of mediated play images, turning inward to our demons as we seek to comprehend our transgressive impulses and postures. Thus, we can revel inwardly at the awfulness of the players. . . the nasty, vicious, foul persons/personas who inhabit a transgressive media universe. They fabricate tragedy for us allowing us to unleash our tigers, while we are safe and saved, released and relieved. We stand outside ourselves as we engage with our contemporary tragic figures of mythical folkloric proportions, fascinated, judgmental, hypercritical, intense in our castigation, yet attentive. We throw our stones as if there is not a bit of ourselves perceived in the horrific attributes cast upon them, but we know that there is some of the same within us.

According to Riley, we can see ourselves in a different light during impure play, and we can allow ourselves to be different. In this aspect he sees a transformative potential which if permitted an opportunity can enable us to emerge from our artificial goodness into a transgressive realm more in tune with the full nature of our inner realities. While not a political work, his analysis of the elevating consequences of trangressive cultural activities infused with alternated dimensions, is suggestive of an actual movement of playful actors willing to engage in transformative politics.

Riley's task is to document the meanings of play, yet the book entails a great deal more intriguing commentary on the contemporary scene. Perhaps some paragraphs are too long and dense for casual reading, and perhaps some references are too arcane for the casual reader, but this book is certainly worth an absorbing few hours.

Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys, by **Victor M. Rios.** New York, NY: New York University Press, 2011. 218pp. $20.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814776384.

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From slavery to Jim Crow to the rise of urban ghettos to the present prison industrial complex and its various pipelines, much has been written about controlling black bodies. To the degree that socioeconomic status becomes a lens through which this process is analyzed, Latinos are frequently merged into this discussion. Additionally, given the plethora of ethnographies written over the past decade that explore the experiences of inner city, young, poor, black and Latino men, one could teach a year-long graduate course on the subject and still not fully cover its many installments.

Given this saturation of analysis, I was skeptical to expect anything ''new'' to come from yet another ethnography journeying down this well-trodden path. However, I was indeed pleasantly surprised. As per the author's own admission, his sociological imagination was engaged even unbeknown to him. The death of his friend, Smiley, coupled with the fact that of his 78 friends only he went to college, forced Victor Rios to reflect on the larger picture of youth violence and criminalization in Oakland. To fill in this picture, Rios studied 32 young men in-depth and a total of 78 youths informally, over a three-year period.

The first part of the book makes the case for using Oakland, CA for his study. Rios argues that young black and Latino males have had a history of criminalization and punitive social control in that city and beyond (Chapter Two). To show the reader how deeply embedded the day-to-day criminalization process is manifested, Chapter Three explores the lives of two young men and their interaction with individuals and institutions. Chapter Four more formally broadens the discussion to examine multiple institutions' individual and collective functions in reifying a system of punishment. Chapter Five returns to looking at the young men as

units of analysis and investigates their employment of agency in the form of defiance and resistance. The chapter argues that what some label as oppositional culture and self-defeating resistance is sometimes a rational coping strategy and is thus a form of resilience. Chapter Six brings a gendered lens to this discussion and argues that these young men (per)form specific types of masculinity that often lead them to enact violence—both symbolic and physical—against young women. Chapter Seven takes yet another interesting turn by examining the lives of non-delinquent boys and their challenges in navigating attempts to ''control'' them by institutions as well as their (sometimes) delinquent peers. The final chapter moves beyond description to prescription. Here, the reader is led from reading about what happened, to what can and should happen. This, too, is accomplished by using the experiences of the young men studied and their interactions with authority figures and institutions.

Ultimately, the young men studied found themselves in situations where their everyday behaviors and styles were constantly treated as deviant, threatening, risky, and criminal by adults in the various social contexts they navigated. Rios defines this ubiquitous criminalization as the ''youth control complex,'' a system in which schools, police, probation officers, families, community centers, the media, businesses, and other institutions systematically treat young people's everyday behaviors as criminal activity. He goes on to argue that young people, who become pinballs within this youth control complex, experience what he refers to as ''hypercriminalization,'' the process by which an individual's everyday behaviors and styles become ubiquitously treated, across social contexts, as deviant, risky, threatening, or criminal. As a result, the youth control complex creates an overarching system of regulating the lives of marginalized young people, what Rios refers to as ''punitive social control.''

As with any study, there is always room for improvement. At times, the book reaches too far. For example, Rios argues that previous studies in urban ethnography have thoroughly described blocked opportunity and its consequences. However, criminalization

as a system that contributes to this blocked opportunity has *yet to be* analyzed [emphasis added]. Arguably, it has been understudied; but to say it has never been studied is disingenuous. Additionally, sometimes old theories are presented, applied to this sample, and then (re)presented as a new theory, with no explicit conversation about the difference between the old theory and Rios' new label. And speaking of labels, ''labeling hype''—a theory which grounds much of the book—is only explored through the lives two young men. Given the importance of the theory and the fact that over 75 young men were observed, we should have been shown how this phenomenon was manifested in the lives of more than only two people.

These concerns notwithstanding, Rios deftly incorporates analyses that a more inexperienced observer might miss. First, consider how he astutely notices that black youth encountered some of the worst criminalization—exemplified by the fact that, regardless of self-presentation and behavior, light-skinned Latinos gained respect from teachers and police once they chose to dress more formally, while black youths still faced criminalization even when they dressed more formally. Second, Rios offers the insight that in order to understand the ''trouble with young men'' in the new millennium, we must understand how local troubles are often derived from global processes. In examining neoliberalism's effects on young, poor, racialized men, he explains that it has played a contributing role in producing marginalized populations abandoned by the left arm of the state (welfare) and gripped by the punitive right arm of the state (criminal justice). Third, Rios insightfully observes that the collateral consequences of mass incarceration are those negative predicaments in which families, communities, and individuals find themselves as a result of their incarceration or the incarceration of their family members or neighbors. And fourth, Rios notes the fact that this web of punishment—the youth control complex—added to the boys' blocked opportunities but also generated creative responses, which allowed the boys to feel dignified; and that sometimes these responses even led to informal and formal political resistance.

Well written, researched, and presented, *Punished* definitely merits inclusion in the canon of ethnographies working to empower, explain, and change the lives of marginalized populations.

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Families as They Really Are documents the dramatic changes to American families during the latter half of the twentieth century and the start of the twenty-first and investigates what is happening in contemporary families today. Edited by Barbara J. Risman and written by members of the Council on Contemporary Families (CCF), this outstanding volume is a welcome addition to the current sea of family anthology and textbooks. The nuanced and insightful essays announce the vibrancy and far-ranging focus of current research on families and are engaging reading for both specialists and a general audience interested in a comprehensive review of the field.

Families as They Really Are is divided into five sections and each section includes articles by prominent scholars from diverse disciplines, including Sociology, Psychology, History, Social Work, Education, and Law. Interspersed with the articles are CCF Briefing Papers (press releases that highlight new research findings for a general audience), as well as Fact Sheets (quizzes that are meant to challenge popular myths about families), and newspaper articles that covered research presented in the anthology.

The first section, ''How We Know What We Know about Families,'' asks readers to think about how research has been collected and how to interpret data laid out both in this anthology and in their daily newspaper. I have rarely seen this done outside of a methodology textbook and it works very well here. Since many of the topics studied by the family researchers in the book are polarizing, the data is often interpreted and

discussed in the popular media in a myriad of contradictory ways. The articles in this section do an admirable job of discussing the importance of knowing the source of data, understanding the difference between correlation and causation, and using ethnographic research to build trust between researcher and research participants to uncover facts that would be hidden from traditional data collection methods.

Stephanie Coontz and Steven Mintz consider definitions of family and childhood, investigating how families change across time and place in the second section, "How We Got Here." Donna L. Franklin traces the rise of dual-career marriages in the United States to the black middle-class of the late nineteenth century, where these dual-earner partnerships originated among married black professionals. The section also features articles on the greater presence and acceptance of interracial families, as well as newspaper coverage of this topic. But the laws in the United States do not always keep up with these changes, as Karen Struening discusses in her chapter on how same-sex couples and their use of fertility treatments have challenged traditional legal conceptions of family.

The third section, "Intimate Relationships in the Twenty-First Century," considers a wide range of topics, including popular discomfort with sexuality, the increase in cohabitation, parenting adult children, how marriage reduces social ties, divorce, gay and lesbian relationships, and immigrant families. While I appreciated that this section avoided grouping together divorce, domestic violence, and remarriage under a general family disruption title, I thought that it was very broadly cast, particularly if used as a course reader. Virginia E. Rutter and Jui-Chung Allen Li offer findings that are contrary to popular beliefs about divorce and would work very well in an undergraduate course—with Rutter arguing that divorce can ease depression when marital quality is low, while Li contends that divorce appears to have no effect on children's behavior problems, when these problems are studied longitudinally. The chapters on gay and lesbian couples, by Robert-Jay Green and Mignon Moore, as well as the following fact sheet, would also serve as an excellent undergraduate reading assignment. Moore's finding that women in lesbian relationships are more likely to equally share responsibility for paid work and for housework is beautifully illustrated through her qualitative data.

The volume returns to a tighter focus in the fourth section, "Unequal Beginnings: Social Class and America's Children." By narrowing in on how class matters for children, this section provides a persuasive narrative about how class shapes children's daily lives, their life chances, how they are raised, and the level of paternal involvement in their childrearing. The briefing paper by Paula England and Kathryn Edin illustrates why low-income couples are more likely to remain unmarried than their more socioeconomically advantaged counterparts, and the transcript of the NPR interview with the authors will surely engage students.

In the final section of the volume, editor Barbara Risman turns our attention to "The Unfinished Gender Revolution," beginning with an article in which, she and co-author, Elizabeth Seale, ask whether middle-school boys and girls are truly able to form identities unhampered by gender constraints. This section examines gender differences in orgasms, in fallback plans for the future, in contributions to household work, as well as differences among women in their paid workforce experiences and household work; and it concludes with an article by Rhea V. Almeida that considers the role of gender norms in domestic violence.

This was an exceptionally edited volume, although there may be room for some minor changes in the next edition. The briefing papers could be expanded slightly, so that they are the same length as the longer article chapters. As written currently, some briefings are too short for a class reading assignment when they are not paired with another chapter on the topic. The newspaper sections could be followed by reading questions, because many of the newspapers offer a different interpretation of the data presented in the articles. While an instructor would likely provide such structure for a class, reading questions following the newspaper articles would prove instructive for those non-specialists reading the book on their own.

One of the many strengths of the book is its elegant synthesis of a wide range of topics and disciplines, as well as the engaging writing style of its many authors. Another strength is the attention to family diversity and careful consideration of race, gender, class, and sexuality. *Families as They Really Are* is an outstanding collection of articles, press briefings, and newspaper articles about the United States that should be widely adopted as the primary reader for undergraduate Sociology of Family classes.

Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World, by **Robyn Magalit Rodriguez.** Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 194pp. $22.50 paper. ISBN: 9780816665280.

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Robyn Magalit Rodriguez's *Migrants for Export* is a critical assessment of the bureaucratic processes and policy implementations by which the Philippine state has established itself as a labor brokerage state on a transnational scale. In the introductory chapter, "Neoliberalism and the Philippine Labor Brokerage State," Rodriguez analyzes the Philippine state's current dominance in labor brokerage in the context of the neoliberal restructuring of the Philippine economy tied to the international rise of neoliberal governmentality. The first substantive chapter, "The Emergence of Labor Brokerage: U.S. Colonial Legacies in the Philippines," expands this analysis by historicizing the U.S. colonial labor system's role in creating various programs for the training, recruitment, and employment of Filipino workers in the United States, which subsequently established an institutional framework for the post-colonial Philippine economy, nation-building, and citizenship organized around the out-migration. The author identifies, for example, the historical significance of the *pensionado* program of the early twentieth century in facilitating the recruitment of young Filipinos from elite families for training in the nursing profession, followed by the Exchange Visitor Program (EVP) of

the U.S. government started in 1948 to promote the employment of thousands of Filipinos in the United States, particularly in medical fields.

The second chapter offers an unprecedented perspective on the multiple departments, offices, and agencies of the Philippine state — both at home and abroad — that constitute what Rodriguez calls the government's *migration bureaucracy*. Rich details reveal the specific ways in which the state's dense network of foreign site offices, embassies, and consulates identify opportunities overseas for placing migrant workers by monitoring trends in international trade and investment and assessing potential demands for migrant labor. Rodriguez shows how the Philippine government's desk offices and migration agencies in Asia, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and the Americas appraise economic shifts and provide updates on new employment categories and visa policies abroad. This bureaucracy also guides the Philippine state to formulate and negotiate bilateral labor placement treaties with labor importing countries. This migration bureaucracy, Rodriguez argues further, is to be understood both as a complex of statecraft oriented toward managing, approving, and mediating workers' overseas employment, *and* as a discursive site from which to affirm the state's legitimacy over migrants and to bring the populace under its disciplinary apparatus. By mandating specialized training, a multi-step certification process, and numerous other migration-related prerequisites, the state establishes itself as the primary authenticator of migrants' employment applications and overseas contracts. This analysis of the migration bureaucracy is expanded in the following chapter, "Able Minds, Able Hands: Marketing Philippine Workers," where Rodriguez develops the idea of *labor diplomacy* to theorize the Philippine government's involvement in formal negotiations at the state-level with labor-importing countries to promote Filipino workers' employment via bilateral agreements and to offer proposals for new modes of migrant labor incorporation in emerging market segments (such as the military or special economic zones in labor importing countries). Like the rest of the book, this chapter's strength

derives from the detailed accounts of exactly how the state orchestrates the brokering of labor through its everyday operations in the Philippines and overseas. Rodriguez's many examples—such as the state's strategy of direct mailing of brochures to foreign government agencies or the description of special labor expos at international conference venues where target audiences of foreign delegates or business tourists are likely to be present — offer critical insights into the state's routinized labor promotion practices as part of its state-level labor diplomacy.

Next, ''New National Heroes: Patriotism and Citizenship Reconfigured'' takes up the question of how the Philippine state has reshaped the meaning of national belonging and citizenship through the normalization of labor migration. Rodriguez discusses in vivid detail the state's commemorative celebrations, welcome rituals, and festive occasions at home and abroad, designed to validate the migrant worker as a self-sacrificing hero, as an investor with a stake in national development. Rodriguez shows that this discourse of *migrant citizenship* emphasizes the significance of staying connected with the family and nation via regular remittances and participation in state-regulated investment schemes. This enables the state to ensure a steady inflow of foreign exchange and to mediate, as an advisor and manager, between migrant workers and their remittance-receiving families. The state thus carves out for itself, beyond the formal sphere of the economy, an extended domain of disciplinary influence lodged within the more private affairs of its citizens.

The centrality of gender in the discourse on migrant citizenship is analyzed in-depth in the next chapter, ''The Philippine Domestic: Gendered Labor, Family, and the Nation-State.'' In this section of the book, Rodriguez assesses the state's influence in facilitating women's employment in highly gendered, racialized, and often sexualized occupations and the simultaneous castigation of female migrants as deviant mothers or docile women in need of the paternalistic state's protections and guidance against the dangers of overseas work. The author's ethnographic data demonstrate how the state's so-called training programs — such as the predeparture orientation sessions meant to

professionalize and thus protect female migrants from exploitation — encourage, in substance, women's subordination to their overseas employers and ultimately reproduce highly gendered norms of citizenship. By emphasizing a good work ethic of compliance towards overseas employers along with the recommendation of leading frugal lifestyles devoid of luxury, consumption, or sexual excesses, the state-sanctioned training programs seek to maximize remittances and loyalty for the family and nation, and in the process regulate the bodies and lives of female migrants.

The last chapter, ''Migrant Workers' Rights? Regulating Remittances and Repatriation,'' illustrates the contradictions embedded in the Philippine state's dual role as a labor brokerage state highly invested in maximizing out-migration for remittances and as the protector of migrants' rights and well-being overseas. Rodriguez shows that, although the Philippine state organizes elaborate official visits of Philippine heads of state and stages these events as exalted occasions to publicly acknowledge migrant workers' contributions, an overall assessment of the same state's attempts at resolving labor disputes between foreign governments and migrants exposes the labor brokerage state's high priority of sustaining diplomatic and economic ties with labor-importing client-states. The details of a case involving a Filipino workers' strike and demands for higher wages in Brunei reveal, for example, how the Philippine state's interventions on behalf of its citizens were executed by a set of placating compromises and settlements that ultimately privileged the labor-importing country's policies and needs against migrant workers' demands. Furthermore, migrants who chose the option of returning to the Philippines to pursue the state's much-publicized grievance process to claim back wages, found themselves in the middle of a lengthy, confusing, and demoralizing bureaucratic process.

In the book's conclusion, ''The Globalization of the Labor Brokerage State,'' Rodriguez discusses how the Philippine state's labor brokering model is fast becoming transnationalized, as other migrant-sending countries try to emulate and adopt this model in consultation with the Philippines. This

chapter also juxtaposes a more progressive expression of transnationalism in the global politics of migration, that is, the work of Migrante International, an organization focused on migrants' rights and labor advocacy. We learn that with an international network of member groups, Migrante International has been mobilizing a transnational movement to protect migrant workers' rights in the context of individual nation-states' political sovereignty, where labor entitlements and overall rights are almost entirely associated with citizenship or comparable forms of legal membership. Rodriguez suggests that organizations such as these employ a counter hegemonic approach towards safeguarding migrants' rights: they privilege the conceptualization of workers' protections and labor entitlements based on the migrants' lived experiences as opposed to the labor policies determined by labor-importing countries' agendas or the labor-brokerage state's administrative system.

Rodriguez's work on the Philippine state's labor brokerage role makes major contributions to the migration literature. This book shows with persuasive clarity how the Philippines orchestrates its labor brokerage work by being involved in monitoring overseas employment trends, negotiating placements abroad, advising foreign states and employers on the advantages of hiring Filipino migrants, and preparing Philippine nationals for migration. This book also reveals how the responsibility of safeguarding the rights of citizens working abroad is increasingly being shifted to labor-sending states like the Philippines. Although not its central focus, this book opens up the issue of Third World debt and debt servicing being linked to the remittances of migrant workers in general, and as migration becomes increasingly feminized, the contributions of women in particular.

Ethnomethodology at Work, edited by **Mark Rouncefield** and **Peter Tolmie.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. 251pp. $114.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754647713.

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Mark Rouncefield and Peter Tolmie have produced a book aimed at those not too familiar with ethnomethodology, thus, an introduction to an approach, and one which also can serve as a text for studies focused on organizations and work. Each contributor describes one or more studies of organizations in which they have engaged. The variety of chapters demonstrates the varied topics for their studies and ranges from calculation, planning, talk, meetings, documents, technology and more. Each of the contributors first offers their own critical comments on "conventional (or constructivist) sociology" particularly those approaches which utilize concepts which are theoretically derived but do not examine, directly and in detail, the "whatness" the participants are doing when they are engaged in the work of the organization. (Garfinkel has referred to this as the "missing what.")

The editors have selected a varied number of contributors, all of whom have been trained or done research in the United Kingdom, and can provide "perspicuous" examples of organizations and/or work settings in which they have done research.

The proposed and demonstrated approach of ethnomethodology is shown to be without theoretic categories, preformulations, and abstract conceptualizations. The focus in these studies is on the actual participants in their everyday practices: "what do they do, and how do they achieve it? How do they reason about and see meaning in their activities. . .." (p. 110).

Each of the contributors provides a clear example, in their own study, of work and the organization. The editors hope to advance the study of organizations but from a perspective that will utilize direct observation, as in field studies, and offer detailed descriptions and analyses based on what the participants actually do in their

work. The studies presented are not necessarily finished studies but utilize an ethnomethodological approach, offering insights, as well as instances of what was observed. The direction such research may take is indicated.

Tolmie and Rouncefield in Chapter Three, "Organizational Acumen," as the authors define it, deal with knowing how to "appropriately arrange one's actions and interactions . . .as to demonstrate an understanding of just how things are done . . .in just this organization, at just this time. . ." (p. 37). In presenting their examples, the authors, drawing on prior ethnomethodological writings, show how prioritizing is done, how priorities can be modified, how continued adherence to organizational policies may nevertheless be produced, and how consistency and adherence to such policies may be provided.

John Hughes in Chapter Four, shows how models of the use of quantitative calculations can provide the participants with ways of seeing and making sense of the relation of actual everyday activities to the economic life of the organization.

Dave Randall and Rouncefield, in Chapter Five on plans and planning, are able to show how these are actually used in the organization rather than, as conventional theories have argued, that their use necessarily and inevitably means that organizational members are following such plans. They look at plans as "occasioned phenomena" which are used in the setting to make sense of what persons are doing. They show how plans and procedures "are related to the sequentiality of work" and can be used to help decide on future courses of action. Their situatedness requires that the ways that they are used be studied directly and without any presuppositions regarding their necessity or that plans, like rules, are followed without question by those persons actively engaged in the work of the organization.

In the study of the temporal order of work, Chapter Six by Andy Crabtree, Rouncefield and Tolmie, the interest is in showing how time is used and how it becomes a resource for use in organizing such things as the work itself. Time is shown to be understandable when it is seen as internally or endogenously produced: as an element in the practices of the members of the organization. Thus, members are shown to orient to some of the features of time as a practical resource in doing specific kinds of work in specific situations. To understand its uses requires that any study itself be oriented to the understandings that members have of what they are doing.

In studying talk and organizations, David Martin and Jacki O'Neill show that ethnomethodology differs from conversation analysis which they say focuses on how *talk* gets done whereas in studying the organization the focus is on how the "*work* gets done" (p. 110). The authors offer examples from their field studies of customer services in banking: how customers are taught the workings of the organization and how they can be better oriented to organizational practices when talking to organizational representatives. Through their talk, the customer services representatives make the organization come alive—it is "talked into being" (p. 129). Standardized procedures may have been formulated by experts in order to bring order and consistency to talk but, as the authors show, such procedures are utilized in various ways, for example, to achieve the ends developed in just this talk, at just this time. Modifications or the using and not using of these procedures demonstrate how the organizational representatives utilize those which they consider relevant for their work at *this* time for *this* problem.

Meetings, documents, and technology are also studied in subsequent chapters, following the same format as the previous chapters. A concluding chapter by Wes Sharrock and Graham Button provides reasoned bases for the rejection of conventional approaches to the study of work and also challenges those efforts known as "social construction," "activity theory," and "distributed cognition" primarily for their misunderstandings of ethnomethodology.

The present collection, by providing a number of instances or examples of work and organizations, aims to show how ethnomethodological studies are done and can be done. Their emphasis on these represents an effort to demonstrate that differences do matter, but that differing perspectives cannot necessarily be combined, nor can differences be ignored.

By virtue of its being intended as a text for how ethnomethodological approaches can be utilized, the book is successful in its effort. The studies referred to are not proposed as being complete but rather achieve at least one aim, namely, to show that the authors or researchers are competently using, drawing on or explicating, the ways in which they have used ethnomethodology to conduct their studies. Their achievement is to be commended for they are demonstrating how a field of study may be ''transformed'' and/or how the phenomena referred to as organizational elements can be ''respecified'' by using an ethnomethodological approach.

Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States, by **William G. Roy.** Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010. 286 pp. $35.00 cloth. ISBN: 9780691143637.

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As its very clever title implies, this book investigates music's role as an agent of change. In what ways can music instigate altered thought patterns at the collective level, and how can musical participation foster engagement in social reform? These questions lie at the very heart of cultural sociology's current preoccupations, and this thoughtful book by William Roy goes some way toward advancing our understanding of how, as he puts it in the concluding chapter, ''social movements do culture.''

Roy describes how during the 1930s and 1940s, the Old, communist-inspired Left adopted music instrumentally, as a medium of information and a propaganda tool. Folk music's performers, such as Pete Seeger, used the conventional performer/audience distinction to ''lead'' the people toward predetermined goals. In this case, music was understood as a text to be read and interpreted by audiences in ways that could help them to change *their minds* about public issues and concerns.

By contrast, the civil rights movement of the 1960s incorporated music into the very fabric of protest activity, singing on the picket lines,

freedom rides, and even in jail. Through this activity, the performer/audience distinction was blurred and music's power as an agent of change was reconceived. Now music was seen as a medium with which to foster processes of collective activity, for example, through the ways it afforded ''diverse activists the opportunity to join together in a somatic experience of unity'' (pp. 1-2).

The contrast was marked, as Roy observes, by folk music's shifting status as an object for distribution and consumption: in the former model music could and was marketed as a product associated with new tastes, new sensibilities, and new forms of (and for) music scholarship. Within the latter, on the other hand, folk music had negligible commercial impact. In observing this fact Roy helps us to understand, perhaps tangentially, why it is that music, as an academic discipline, remains wedded to the idea of music as text, musicology's traditional object of scrutiny.

But Roy mines the scholarly quarry a few levels deeper. Setting himself up in contrast to the classic work on music and social movements by Eyerman and Jamison (1998), Roy describes how he seeks to move beyond a cognitive praxis paradigm, in which music can be seen to offer exemplars, models or scripts for how to assemble meaning and how to know what to do next and where to go. At the same time Roy, rather sensibly in my opinion, does not reject this paradigm, but complements it with a focus on the performative enactment of cultural forms. This enactment, Roy shows us, simultaneously realizes cultural forms, their meaningful contents, and lived experiences and interactions. Culture, in other words, is less a tool and more a place in which to dwell, act, and move. On this point, Roy on the one hand, and Eyerman and Jamison on the other hand, can be heard to be singing from the same hymn book, albeit from opposite sides of the church. Turn one way and it is cognition, turn the other, embodied engagement: in either case you are witnessing forms of collective action and, in either case, something is being done (with music). Indeed, Roy acknowledges this version of musical ontology early on, describing how music, ''passes from hand to hand, and mouth to mouth, adapting, elaborating, unfolding,

and simplifying'' (p.11). This passage highlights precisely how, as Christopher Small so aptly put it, music is a verb.

With this point about musicking established, Roy's ultimate question is how does the form and content of musicking affect the activity pathways that actors can craft, and how in turn are those pathways related to large-scale and enduring forms of social change? Roy's answer, and one that is supported by recent empirical research in Norway and Sudan (Bergh 2007), is that connections forged by grounded, participatory musicking provide resources for forging further connections between people (''bridging'') and in ways that lead to the redrawing of social boundaries and to regrouping over time. One of the most pleasing features of this book is its overt concern with what, if anything, it is about music specifically that makes it conducive to collective action. Bordering on the existential, Roy's reply suggests that, ''a force that can ease the tedium of working together, enrich the awe of worshipping together, and sweeten the ecstasy of making love together always has the capacity to foster the pursuit of justice together'' (p. 250). While some observers of music's role in conflict and conflict transformation might question the word ''always'' and counter that music can just as readily be harnessed for injustice as for justice (Bergh and Sloboda 2010), *Reds, Whites, and Blues* is a major contribution to the ever more audible collection of voices in sociology addressed to the dynamic relationship between music and social life.

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As my mother always admonished me, when preparing a meal for company, be sure to present the *piece de resistance* on the dining room table; do not make the guests wade through the kitchen and witness all of the elaborate—and sometimes not very pretty—details of its creation. While preparing food may be a far cry from academic scholarship, my mother's advice could have well served Mirko Schäfer, author of *Bastard Culture!*. For, having pierced the veil of a somewhat convoluted theoretical framework, which draws from a wide range of approaches, one discovers a very interesting—and at times provocative—narrative about the role of users in today's cultural production.

Employing a very broad brush to paint his narrative, Schäfer employs Foucault's notion of *dispositif* to frame his analysis and organize his data for the macro picture outlined in the first part of the book. Commendably, this approach allows the author to conceive of participatory culture in an holistic way, taking into account the full range of factors—''discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions'' — (Foucault 1980: 194–5) that constitute it. Thus, the first three chapters are organized around the subjects of discourses, social usage, and technology—the three interdependent components that the author identifies as part of the *dispositif* of participatory culture. Unfortunately, because of myriad details, these chapters suffer from a lack of structure, making it difficult for the reader to relate each to the larger theoretical framework, much less to one another.

Persevering through the text, however, one encounters some useful, identifiable takeaways. In Chapter One, ''Promoting

Utopia/Selling Technology,'' Schäfer traces how the rhetoric of participatory culture played a critical role in both the design and the sale of media technologies. As he notes in Chapter Two, ''Claiming Participation,'' today's narrative around technology has evolved from one celebrating access to information to one praising our ability to create our own culture by collaborating around shared knowledge. In describing user participation, Schäfer distinguishes between ''explicit'' and ''implicit'' production. In contrast to authors like Henry Jenkins (2006) who emphasize how ''explicit'' user production, such as fan sites, can come into conflict with traditional business models, Schäfer points out that user production often extends and enhances a media company's offerings, creating something of a real—even if inadvertent—symbiotic relationship between users and media firms. Chapter Three, ''Enabling/Repressing Participation,'' examines the socio-technical ecology that derives from the unique characteristics of digital technologies. Constituting a shared space as well as a ''digital workbench,'' these technologies have both inspired and afforded user participation. Software, the author contends, has played an especially critical role, given its modularity, flexibility, and reusability.

Three case studies, which exemplify and extend the author's argument, are presented in Chapter Four, entitled ''Bastard Culture.'' These cases include an analysis of the modification of the Xbox, the Xbox-Linux-Project, and the Hacking of AIBO. The first two cases entail explicit user production, whereas the latter involves implicit user production. Employing a micro analytical approach based on Actor Network Theory (Latour 1993), Schäfer tracks the networks of actors and events that lead to the production, and/or reproduction, of media products. In contrast to many other accounts, which depict user production in relatively simplistic terms, Schäfer's analysis shows that production is a complex, hybrid process in which participants converge to form a heterogeneous constellation of interdependent producers, both professional and amateurs, which—in keeping with Actor Network Theory—includes the technologies themselves.

Whereas in Chapter Five Schäfer describes how users are moving into the realm of business, in Chapter Six, ''The Extension of Cultural Industries,'' he examines how media firms are extending themselves into the lives of users. According to the author, it is the intersection of these two networks which engenders the socio-political issues associated with digital technologies, the most prominent being copyright, privacy, and security. In addressing these issues, firms pursue any of three strategies: (1) direct confrontation in opposition to participation, (2) implementing user contributions while using design to maintain control of them, and (3) fully embracing participation by using it to enhance the media product.

In the final chapter, ''Participatory Culture,'' the author brings together many of the threads that are woven into the text. It is here that he argues explicitly for a more sophisticated understanding of participatory culture that is centered within the context of a socio-technical media ecology in which actor networks are simultaneously engaged. I greatly appreciate his argument as well as the many insights he provides. I only wish that the text had been more streamlined, with clearer guideposts directing the reader where the narrative was heading. *Bastard Culture!* is a very worthwhile read. But, to get the most from it, be prepared to read the book at least twice.

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Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism, by **Sarah Sobieraj.** New York, NY: New York University Press, 2011. 223pp. $23.00 paper. ISBN: 9780814741375.

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"If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?" This philosophical experiment, which raises questions regarding observation and the knowledge of reality, has engaged intellectuals for more than a century. In her book, *Soundbitten: The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*, Sarah Sobieraj suggests a parallel thought experiment for scholars interested in civil society and the public sphere, "If voluntary associations engage in a demonstrative display and it is not covered by mainstream news media, is the event politically or organizationally relevant?" The answer to this question is surprising. Sobieraj finds that the organizational emphasis on attracting the media spotlight actually makes it more difficult for groups to get the coverage they crave. Worse, the obsession with getting media attention may actually undermine the vitality of voluntary associations. Organizations become so media centered that they often inadvertently belittle their members and miss opportunities to connect with those watching (and participating in) their events. This, Sobieraj argues, narrows the range of perspectives to which citizens are exposed and ultimately undermines their ability to make informed decisions.

Theoretically, Sobieraj seeks to bridge the literatures on voluntary associations and the public sphere. To do so, she draws on her observations of how 50 voluntary associations entered political dialogue during the 2000 and 2004 Democratic and Republican national conventions. She supplements her participant observation with more than 125 interviews and an analysis of convention coverage in mainstream outlets. Sobieraj convincingly argues that the focus on national conventions makes a lot of sense. While political theorists disagree about the contours of the public sphere, there is a general sense that elections (and election related events) can provide important opportunities to narrow the gap between civil society and the public sphere. As such, these political moments shed light on how well the American experiment is working.

Sobieraj begins with a familiar starting point. Voluntary associations seek out mainstream media attention in order to educate and, hopefully, mobilize a broader public to action. Getting coverage, of course, is easier said than done. Activists encounter many hurdles including occupational norms, the speed of the news cycle, and journalistic practices and routines. Sobieraj, however, adds an important wrinkle to our understanding of the relationship between voluntary associations and mainstream media. Specifically, she finds that the harder activists work to present themselves as legitimate and reasonable the less likely they are to get their ideas and organizations in media coverage. This paradox, Sobieraj argues, is a result of journalists wanting to cover "authentic" activities and voices outside of what they regard as a completely rehearsed and inauthentic event (the national convention). Journalists' understanding of "authenticity," however, is quite contrived. Journalists search for stereotypes—emotional activists who wear their cause and anger on their sleeves—and what they largely find are polished, well-informed activists, who exude professionalism. Journalists, of course, eventually find the caricatures they are looking for and the nightly news predominately features the authenticity of the eccentric and the enraged. Interestingly, the unbecoming quality of the coverage is largely lost on activists, who ignore the unpleasant adjectives and celebrate the mere mention of their event and cause.

The obsession with media attention, Sobieraj finds, has even more deleterious effects. Among them, the focus on getting covered undermines the kind of political talk that makes a civil society vibrant. Activists are so busy rehearsing their soundbytes that they quite literally disengage from those watching the spectacle and sometimes intentionally push them away. Sobieraj is quick to note that there are some good reasons for the distance between "insiders" and "outsiders." Some of the voluntary associations included in her study were being monitored

by authorities. However, these instances aside, very few of the 50 voluntary associations included in her research made an effort to engage observers on the street—even if the observers engaged them. The focus on reaching the invisible media audience gave activists such tunnel vision that they did not see potential activists standing in front of them. This tunnel vision affected how voluntary associations interacted with existing members as well. Sobieraj finds that groups rarely crafted events designed to build cohesion among its membership. Instead, leaders regarded their members as either potential props in or problems undermining their carefully crafted media events. These missed opportunities, Sobieraj argues, not only circumscribe the character of the public sphere during important political moments but potentially undercut who engages in civil society.

Soundbitten is a well-written and engaging book that both you and your students will enjoy. Sobieraj's writing is accessible and the book is rife with interesting examples and colorful pictures that make the events outside of the conventions come alive. While some readers may express concerns regarding the generalizability of Sobieraj's findings, I see the study as breaking new ground for scholars to explore. Sobieraj makes clear that we need to better examine how context affects the relationship between voluntary associations and mainstream media journalists as well as better analyze the costs of chasing the media spotlight—particularly for local groups that have very limited resources. In short, Sobieraj outlines new avenues for research on civil society and the public sphere and we ignore her findings at our own peril.

Imperial Archipelago: Representation and Rule in the Insular Territories Under U.S. Dominion After 1898, by **Lanny Thompson.** Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2010. 282pp. $28.00 paper. ISBN: 9780824834883.

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Imperial Archipelago, by Lanny Thompson, is a comparative study of U.S. colonial practices in Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, and Cuba that successfully integrates historical sociology with postcolonial studies. A primary focus of this innovative new book is the symbiotic relationship between "symbolic representations" of America's imperial possessions and actual routines of colonial governance in the territories. Covering the period immediately following the Spanish-American War of 1898, Thompson looks at the divergent strategies of rule implemented in the newly acquired territories. He argues that symbolic representations played a crucial role in framing U.S. colonial policy as expansionists sought to explain the incongruous treatment of different colonial populations. *Imperial Archipelago* shows how discursive practices functioned to naturalize hierarchies between ruler and the ruled and depicted the United States as a munificent imperial power committed to the betterment of the inhabitants of its insular possessions. Symbolic representations were important since U.S. expansionists sought to distinguish America's imperial agenda from their European rivals who seized far-flung colonial properties for naked commercial gain. Self-serving narratives about the liberal character of the United States' empire reflected the paternalistic assumptions undergirding Progressive Era thinking about race, nationalism, and modernity.

Thompson marshals an impressive array of photos, newspaper images, and government documents to illustrate the linkages between representation and colonial administration, and employs a sociologically informed style of content analysis to draw connections between cultural symbols and public policy. The book highlights not only the power of visual images depicted in

colonial media, but also stresses the importance of the captions accompanying photographs, which instructed readers how to interpret the images. A key argument running throughout the book is that symbolic representations allowed proponents of overseas expansion to shift away from abstract generalizations about America's civilizing mission in the colonies to more concrete visual representations depicting the needy targets of U.S. imperial benevolence.

Cuba was portrayed in popular texts as a comparatively advanced society led by a ''white educated elite'' (p. 132) and was, thus, granted quasi-independence. The other colonies, however, remained under direct U.S. sovereignty as colonial officials debated the capacity (or lack thereof) of the newly acquired subjects for political or cultural assimilation into the American polity. Popular representations of Hawaii emphasized the amiable character of the islands' population and accentuated the cultural progress achieved by the indigenous inhabitants after many decades of Euro-American missionary tutelage. Colonial administrators, moreover, stressed the degree of political control exercised by American business elites, who along with an able cadre of mixed-race Hawaiian collaborators, could be relied upon to manage U.S. interests in the islands. Native Hawaiians were depicted as an assimilable population and the territory was placed on a path to American statehood. That Native Hawaiians were collectively granted U.S. citizenship in 1900 was particularly striking in light of the racially restrictive character of American naturalization law during this period.

The desire to implement more austere strategies of colonial rule in other territories such as the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam required a different set of cultural symbols. Thompson adroitly demonstrates how popular images and texts about the Philippines depicted the archipelago and its inhabitants in disparaging terms to highlight the alleged backwardness of the local population and the need for a protracted period of intensive colonial intervention in the islands. U.S. officials disseminated these unflattering representations to undercut local demands for national independence, portraying the islands' population as

primitive and childlike. Ethnological surveys carried out by colonial administrators characterized the Philippine population as a mongrel race made up of Asian and African racial elements, and this claim was used to justify the disqualification of Filipinos from American citizenship. Guamanians were cast in a similarly negative light portrayed as a ''people without history'' in need of remedial tutelage by American reformers. Thompson's inclusion of a whole chapter on Guam is a distinctive strength of this book, since most comparative accounts of U.S. empire give this dependency short shrift. Puerto Rico occupied a sort of cultural middle ground in America's colonial iconography. Popular representations described the Puerto Ricans in somewhat favorable terms, suggesting that the population was largely ''white'' and amenable to Americanization. When it came to Puerto Rican demands for American statehood and full enfranchisement into the U.S. polity, however, they were not quite white enough.

Thompson is attentive to the role of gendered representations in shaping the contours of the Americas' imperial vision. Native women were depicted as both objects of exotic desire and as targets of social reform. Women were viewed as important figures in the successful implementation of colonial policy since they bore the primary responsibility of socializing children into the cultural routines of American modernity. Native men were also subject to a variety of gendered representations that in some cases affirmed their capacity for republican citizenship and in others highlighted deviant forms of masculinity that required corrective attention from colonial administrators. Thompson also includes an insightful chapter on heterogeneous strategies of ''Americanization'' in the different dependencies as U.S. policymakers attempted to tailor colonial policy to meet the unique challenges faced in each territory. Key policies adopted in the colonies included marketization of economic life, implementation of an American-style public education system organized around English language instruction, and modernization of civil government.

Imperial Archipelago makes a valuable contribution to the field of historical and comparative sociology and does a commendable

job of merging sociological analysis with post-colonial studies. This book will be of particular interest to scholars working in the area of visual sociology and critical theory.

Reproductive Health and Gender Equality: Method, Measurement, and Implications, by **Guang-zhen Wang.** Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. 201 pp. $99.95 cloth. ISBN: 9780754648697.

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In *Reproductive Health and Gender Equality,* Guang-zehn Wang tackles the important question of what determines women's reproductive health cross-nationally. Her book is organized around three specific objectives. First, she seeks to clarify the meanings and content of the constructs of women's reproductive health, gender equality, women's human rights, and political and economic development. In doing so, she seeks to provide a macro-theoretical framework to explain the causal relationships between these constructs. Second, she seeks to fill a gap in macro-comparative research by testing her proposed theoretical model in cross-national analyses of data from 137 countries or settings. Third, she tests the "impact" of gender equality, women's human rights, and maternal-child care on women's reproductive health "within the context of economic and political development" and examines the implications of her analysis for theory and social policy. These objectives reflect, in large part, an effort to synthesize conceptually and empirically a lengthy international scientific and political discourse about the inter-relationships of gender equality and women's reproductive health.

While the objectives of Wang's book are laudable and have the potential to make interesting contributions across a number of disciplines, the achievement of her objectives is somewhat mixed. In the first part of her book, Wang seeks to lay out a conceptualization of the constructs under study and their anticipated causal relationships. The general model that she proposes is one in which women's human rights, gender equality, and maternal-child health care are determinants of women's reproductive health in a political-economic context. In her discussion of some constructs, such as women's human rights, Wang draws on a diverse, interdisciplinary, and historically-sequenced literature, tracing the evolution of scholarly thinking and offering a brief critique of sociology's contribution to debates over human and particularly women's human rights. For other constructs, such as gender equality, her discussion is much more brief and her review of the literature is focused somewhat more narrowly on selected fields, such as social demography and feminist studies. This contrasting depth and breadth of discussion of core theoretical constructs renders Wang's presentation of her theoretical model somewhat uneven. Moreover, even with her more extensive exposition on constructs such as "women's human rights," I was still left wondering how the author herself ultimately defined the constructs under study. It was unclear, for example, how "women's human rights" were defined in this study, and as a result, I was unsure how the author ultimately would seek to operationalize the construct. Similarly, the discussion of "gender equality" explicitly concluded with the assertion that "although the term has been frequently used by social scientists and policy makers [r]ecently, feminist scholars and social scientists recognized that the term…is… 'multi-dimensional,' and 'multi-level,' rendering it unfeasible to develop a consensus on its definition" (p. 32). This lack of clarity on the meanings of core constructs was coupled with weak rationales for the relationships between them; as a result, I was generally un-persuaded by the theoretical arguments that laid the foundation for the empirical analysis.

Not surprisingly, Wang's discussion of potential indicators to measure each of the constructs in her conceptual model is somewhat divorced from her chapter on theory. Instead of linking well-defined constructs to indicators, she uses her chapter on "measurement" to discuss the "multiplicity" of UN-recommended and U.S.-federal agency indicators for reproductive health and other constructs of interest. Indeed, Wang makes the legitimate point in this chapter that persistent

conceptual "ambiguity" and the "lack of validation" of the measurement of constructs such as reproductive health has precluded "meaningful operationalization" (p. 52). Unfortunately, she does not make the theoretical and operational headway for which this reader had hoped, and as a result, her choice of indicators for the constructs under study appear somewhat arbitrary. For example, the construct of "reproductive health" is operationalized with indicators for infant mortality, maternal mortality, and percentage of infants born with a low birth weight. Certainly many researchers with expertise on the reproductive health of women would argue that the construct includes not only the absence of maternal and infant mortality and morbidity but also sexual and reproductive well-being for women. Researchers who endorse this broader definition might question the content validity of the included measures.

In terms of model specification, I also was confused about Wang's description of the constructs of women's human rights, gender equality, and maternal-child health care as "exogenous" variables (p. 58) when her theoretical framework clearly specifies them as endogenous to the broader political and economic context. Finally, the data used for the analysis, apparently, are drawn from the 2007/2008 *Human Development Report*, which provides information on explanatory variables and outcomes for similar years. This lack of temporal ordering among explanatory and outcome variables leaves one wondering about the causal inferences that can be drawn from the models. Perhaps, an alternative model in which improvements in women's reproductive health (such as lower fertility and an inferred lower risk of maternal mortality as well as inferred changes in gender norms regarding women's reproductive roles) might predict improvements in women's education in absolute and relative terms.

Wang's ambitious theoretical and empirical agenda and her desire to fill an identified gap in cross-national research on gender equality and reproductive health is commendable. I encourage her continued pursuit of this important agenda with the recommendations of seeking greater conceptual clarity, a clearer link between theoretical constructs and measures, the establishment of a clearer temporal ordering between explanatory variables and outcomes, and the consideration of cross-national time-series analyses to examine how changes in women's rights and gender equality may predict subsequent changes in women's reproductive health.

Sprawl, Justice, and Citizenship: The Civic Costs of the American Way of Life, by **Thad Williamson.** Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011. 404pp. $24.95 paper. ISBN: 9780199897575.

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Thad Williamson's book analyzing urban sprawl is a triumph of content over form. The book is unusual. It is an analysis of urban policy that utilizes a fluid and sophisticated understanding of political philosophy to inform it. It attempts to arbitrate between policies that are motivated by different normative concerns, not by attempting to find the best normative orientation in the abstract, but by turning to survey data. Normally, the social sciences divide these different approaches to policy problems. Policy analysis operates in the realm of what is possible given a series of bureaucratic and political constraints. Political philosophy debates the relative worth and warrant of different normative orientations. Statistical analysis is often focused on answering narrowly-defined social scientific questions with relative certainty. Of course, it was not always so and exceptions remain, though they are rare. Williamson's book realizes the possibilities of bridging these divisions.

Williamson takes a single issue, suburban sprawl, and endeavors to provide a total analysis of it. The issue of sprawl is not a black or white one. It is a serious issue that concerns individual rights, the good society, and ecological sustainability. These do not align with each other well. Consequently, Williamson says, "a fundamental contention of this book is that to debate suburban sprawl is to do nothing less than to debate how we are to live together" (p. 4). To make societal decisions about sprawl requires that we consider whether sprawl is efficient, fair, and

whether it is good. Considering this requires making normative assumptions explicit and considering them alongside other data. Finally, and importantly, Williamson wants to insist that sprawl affects our ability to realize any number of aspirations we have as a society and, consequently, any discussions of what sort of society we should aspire to must take into account the question of urban form.

Williamson divides the book by normative orientation and devotes sections of analysis to utilitarian analysis, liberal egalitarian analysis, and civic republican analysis, along with a brief consideration of ecological views. Williamson explains how people with these different normative orientations view the problems and advantages of sprawl. Then, in a rather unusual move, he turns to the secondary literature in order to see whether these normative orientations actually describe reality well. He does this by using both excellent reviews of the copious literature on sprawl and his own analysis, using the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey. Do people really behave as those with different normative orientations assume? Do their values, reflected in their behavior and responses, map onto the different normative discourses under consideration? Williamson wants to address these questions from a data-driven as well as a social theoretical standpoint.

Based on this analysis Williamson is clearly a critic and many of his conclusions are not that unusual: sprawl is ecologically unsustainable, it is inconsistent with democratic theories of justice, and it undermines the practice of citizenship. Sprawl results in lower levels of political participation and lower levels of political contention. This is not to say that sprawl is apolitical because it does have serious political economic consequences, but it also affects the health and vibrancy of the polity. It produces social inequality and conservative attitudes. Many less complete analyses have arrived at similar conclusions.

The problem is that people find value in sprawl. Because Williamson uses normative orientations as facts (orientations held by people rather than transcendental truths), he argues that policy must grapple with the fact that people find value in sprawl. In particular, sprawl is an expression of "the widespread desire for secure, pleasant neighborhoods" (p. 12). It is associated with social trust and local quality of life and it is difficult to argue that valuing these things is inherently problematic. Liberals are correct to argue that people should be able to pursue their individual desire to live in such places even as civic republicans legitimately hope that people do so in ways that do not undermine public discourse or reproduce race and class inequality.

The book closes with a series of policy interventions that are ranked according to their ability to bring us closer to legitimate civic aims without regulating individual choice. Using this ranking, the first thing that should be changed is policy that subsidizes suburban sprawl, second would be inner city investment that would make urban living competitive in terms like quality of life, third are interventions that redress inequality across the metropolitan region, and so on. The effect of these policy changes is not to eliminate suburban living. Rather, they are designed to make the choice to live in the suburbs one that is driven by an actual preference for that style of living rather than a necessary consequence of other choices like a desire for good public schools. In other words, Williamson argues, policy should disconnect the choice for a particular way of living from choices we make about a host of other goods.

Reading the book, some questions do arise. The analysis is so thorough that one wonders whether Williamson has used cannons to kill mosquitos. But that would be the wrong perspective. What this book recovers is an analysis of sprawl as a "big question" in normative terms, ethical terms, economic terms, and personal terms. A second question is whether Williamson's analysis actually matches up with the policy discussions about sprawl. Not long ago this would have been true. However, today it seems that policy that is specifically self-serving, antisocial, and elitist, is given equal voice in the media and in our representative institutions. Suburbs have often been expressions of elitism and conservatism, but these are not treated as possible normative orientations by Williamson. These questions should not detract from the book as a whole. This is a definitive analysis of sprawl and should be widely read by urbanists of all stripes.